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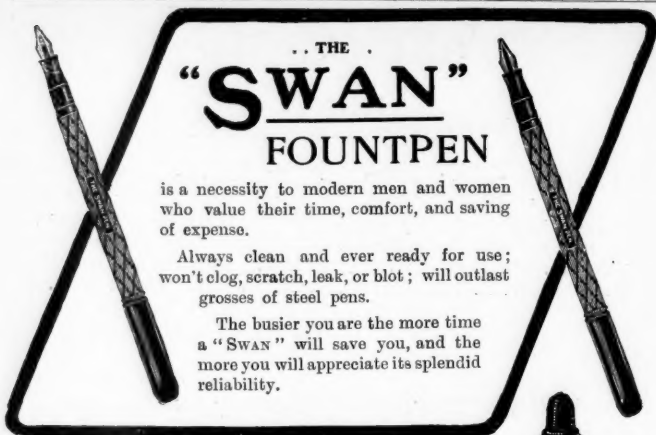
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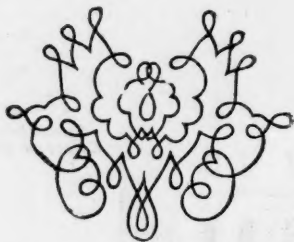
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make the ridiculous figure his father had done,' said he, 'in letting his wife govern him or meddle with business which no woman was fit for.' He did not live long enough to put this resolution to the proof. His wife was not without political aptitude, but she was forced to yield authority to her son. George IV was at the mercy of many women, but it may be premised that when the nineteenth century began, that system was extinct under which all men alike, courtiers, soldiers, and statesmen, were dependent for advancement and security upon the women who enjoyed the sovereign's favour. It must be admitted that this power was never more extensively exercised than when it was a woman that occupied the throne. George II spoke truly of Queen Anne, but his mistresses only lacked authority because the Queen herself wielded it, not openly, but none the less surely. More than one ambitious man, Chesterfield amongst them, made the mistake of courting the mistress instead of the wife. Walpole detected the reality, and through the Queen's confidence kept his own power firm. Caroline died in 1737, and power no doubt passed into the hands of Lady Yarmouth (Walmoden). Even the austere Pitt succumbed. Horace Walpole records that, on October 21, 1756,

'the palace had its solitude alarmed. The Pages of the Backstairs were seen hurrying about and crying, "Mr Pitt wants my Lady Yarmouth." That great stranger made her an abrupt visit—said he had come to explain himself, lest it should be thought he had not been sufficiently explicit.'

But the days of the mistresses were passing. Their sway had been great and undisguised. It was not through the unavowed persuasions or exertions of private life that they had governed; they were the recognised dispensers of patronage and agents for parties. They had to be courted assiduously, but with nothing of the delicacy of private life. Their reign, however, was now over; and it is noteworthy that no other kind of feminine influence immediately succeeded it. If one would observe how little the counsel of women was allowed to weigh in the management of their husbands' affairs, it may be taken as a sign that until the early years of the nineteenth century, bachelor parties were general. The men dined



and drank and hunted and plotted together; they had no need of women to urge them, and encourage, and advise. There is a striking contrast between the habits of Ministers a century apart. In 1720 Secretary Craggs wrote to Lord Stanhope:

'There dined yesterday at Lord Sunderland's the dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle, Lord Carlisle, Lord Townshend, Lord Lumley, the Speaker, Walpole and I, and we got, some very drunk, and others very merry. Lord Falmouth, whom the public nicknamed Lord Foulmouth . . .'

On November 13, 1834, Greville recorded that Lord Sefton told him

'that Mrs Lane Fox's house was become the great rendezvous of a considerable part of the Cabinet. The Chancellor, Melbourne, Duncannon, and Mulgrave are there every day and all day; they all dine with her, or meet her (the only woman) at each other's houses, as often as they can.'

We may say then that the new century brought with it a new condition in the relations between politics and Society; henceforward the part to be played by women was to be of a very different character. The position of the King's mistress had been fully recognised and was almost official. The women of Society were not expected and did not aspire to meddle with public affairs. 'Passive obedience is a doctrine which should always be received amongst wives and daughters,' wrote the sprightly Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and the women of her day were usually content to restrict their energies to domestic duties and recreations.

'You'll wonder, perhaps, to hear that Lord Gower is a topping courtier' (she wrote to Lady Mar); 'there is something extremely risible in these affairs, but not so proper to be communicated by letter; and so I will in an humble way return to my domestics.'

It is true that this rule had its exceptions. Long after her days at Court were numbered, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, occupied herself eagerly with State affairs. It must be borne in mind that she was no ordinary woman; she had governed Queen Anne, and ruled a greater than she, the Duke himself. Power to her was indispensable; if not power, then to be defying power.

For the sake of annoying George II, whom she hated, she set a lure for his son by offering her granddaughter, Lady Diana Spencer, for his bride, with a dowry of 100,000*l.*, a scheme only frustrated by the vigilance of Walpole. She consoled herself by bequeathing a considerable legacy to Pitt, because he was a resolute assailant of the King's Government. But Duchess Sarah is the exception to all rules; she was a rare woman, and leaves the mass of her contemporaries insignificant by contrast. Here and there a woman has secured perpetual notoriety by activity not of a domestic kind, but this has usually been for the sake of and in connexion with some one man: an obvious instance is Lady Hamilton. Here again allowance must be made for temperament; at all times and in all places there have been brave and capable women, ready to share in public dangers or devote themselves to individual interests. In later times the wife of Sir Harry Smith will serve as an illustration. But this is a different thing from bringing politics into the drawing-room and inclining the ear of a statesman to the counsels of a boudoir. In this direction the fashion of the times began to turn. Before the century had begun Holland House had become a meeting-place for the leaders of the Whig party. The journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland, describes at length the plots and counter-plots that were hatched there, and particularly relates the circumstances of the futile secession of the Whigs from the House of Commons in 1798. They intended it as a protest against Pitt's war policy, calculated to destroy his credit: it only damaged their own. It was not strictly observed, and Tierney boldly seized the opportunity of conducting the Opposition in person. Holland House had been the conspiring ground, and here the failure was admitted. 'Secession, did I say, madam?' cried Sir Philip Francis to his hostess; 'dispersion I mean.' What Holland House came to be in later years we know: Macaulay and Greville, in their respective ways, have told us all about it.

In the first years of the nineteenth century the influence of women was not greatly felt in public life. The King was insane and his Court was closed. The Regent's life was, indeed, fully occupied with women: he was at war with his royal wife, and his secret marriage

had not been fortunate. If he was cruel to Caroline, he could at least plead provocation. To the other lady he had allied himself solely by his own desire. He had risked his succession to the throne, as some held, by marriage with a Roman Catholic, despite its invalidity under the Royal Marriages Act. He had descended to every species of subterfuge and prevarication; and after all, an estrangement came between them. She was no doubt the most admirable of his various loves. But neither she nor her successors made any serious pretence of interfering with government. Personal rivalry, the satisfying of family needs, or mere indulgence of vanity, engrossed their attention. And it is worth noting that the three most conspicuous men in the country were, in effect, bachelors: the Regent presented no wife to the public; Pitt was unmarried; Fox avowed his marriage in 1802, but his previous connexion with the lady prevented her from taking her place in Society.

With William IV the new era began; the political atmosphere broadened, and women were permitted to live in it. According to the Duchesse de Dino, the King believed himself irresistible in the presence of a woman. The ubiquity of his FitzClarence progeny gave considerable offence; but we are not accustomed to associate scandal with his name after he succeeded to the throne. Queen Adelaide had no desire to take a prominent part: she was convinced that we were on the verge of an upheaval like that of France in 1789, and her only ambition was to accept the fate of Marie Antoinette with dignity.

The transition was gradual and scarcely perceptible. The right of women to venture upon the territory of man would no doubt have been vigorously disputed by many, not necessarily by all. Byron and John Cam Hobhouse were intimate friends. In Byron's opinion women ought to study only piety and cookery;\* Hobhouse, on the other hand, spent his mornings in paying calls, because he found it 'a great disadvantage to lose touch with Society.'†

This leads us to consider how Society was composed; whether it was jealously exclusive or easily entered. The

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\* Moore's 'Life of Byron,'

† 'Recollections of a Long Life,'

range of Society's influence must have depended at all times upon its self-imposed restrictions. We are in the habit of saying that social barriers have been broken, and that the exclusiveness of former generations has yielded in our time to the encroachment of affluence and impudence. This is an accepted faith; but it is not beyond doubt. It may be argued on ample evidence that in no age has the successful financier found access to the great world insuperably barred. Perhaps more successful, because less scrupulous, has been the financial impostor. The desire of riches has compelled men and women throughout the ages to a complaisant temper in the presence of wealth and in the prospect of gain. So long ago as in the days of the South-Sea Bubble we read that

stockjobbers and their wives, Hebrew and Gentile, were suddenly admitted to the most exclusive circles, and aped the manners and the vices of the aristocracy, who courted them for what they could get.\*

This spirit we may rely upon finding in nearly all civilised communities. Not so obvious, and of slower growth, was the willingness to recognise the claim of intellect. The Duchess of Devonshire was liberal minded, besides being a Liberal in politics, yet here is an account of her first meeting with Sheridan at Bath in 1775: 'It was here that the Duchess of Devonshire first met Sheridan; and, as I have been told, long hesitated as to the propriety of inviting to her house two persons of such equivocal rank in Society as he and his wife were at that time considered. Her Grace was reminded of these scruples some years after, when "*the player's son*" had become the admiration of the proudest and fairest; and when a house, provided for the Duchess herself at Bath, was left two months unoccupied, in consequence of the social attractions of Sheridan, which prevented a party then assembled at Chatsworth from separating.†

\* 'Caroline the Illustrious,' by W. H. Wilkins.

† Moore's 'Life of Sheridan,' i, 148. He says further: 'Talents in literature and science, unassisted by the advantages of birth, may lead to association with the great, but rarely to equality. . . . By him who has not been born among them, this can only be achieved by Politics . . . at once all these barriers of reserve and pride give way, and he takes by right a station at their side, which a Shakespeare or a Newton would but have enjoyed by courtesy' (ii, 73).

After half a century Disraeli was able to say :

'The aristocracy of England absorbs all aristocracies, and receives every man in every order and every class who defers to the principle of our society, which is to aspire and to excel.'\*

It may be that Holland House is not an ordinary instance. For various reasons it has always been free from a strict and narrow exclusiveness. The democratic principles and loose practices of Fox may have exercised a levelling influence there at a very early period of social history, whilst other great houses were still inaccessible to plebeians. The fact remains that O'Brien, the actor, turned its hospitality to such good account that he succeeded in marrying Lord Ilchester's daughter.

Upon the whole, however, we may be sure that Society was more jealously limited before Queen Victoria's reign than it was at its close. Talent and notoriety were not sufficient warrants for admission. Attention was not diffused upon divers interests, and until the area was extended there was a tendency to concentrate the mind on the inevitable topic of politics. The transformation which came over the scene during that interval may be traced in the volumes which we are about to notice ; but we must first point out that it by no means follows that every woman in England considered herself a politician.

The ladies of the nineteenth century who have either published memoirs, or been made the subject of memoirs, certainly do not convey the impression that politics constituted their invariable study and occupation, nor that they aspired to affect the destinies of the nation. The fortunes of the husbands, sons, and brothers were admittedly their concern ; but they only aided and encouraged them in politics as they would have done in any other career. An example of this is afforded by the letters of the Hon. Emily Eden to the lady who became Lady de Ros, written during the Reform crisis of 1830. Miss Eden belonged to a political family ; her brother had lately been made Secretary to the Treasury ; she was herself a woman of spirit ; yet this is the detached tone in which she speaks :

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\* 'Life of Lord George Bentinck.'

'I trusted to the papers to tell you of George's appointment. Of course we were being very much pleased with it, and are so still, I believe; and yet I rather begin to wonder where the joke is, seeing that I have seen him but for five minutes the last three days. . . . I do not think that amusing at all; however, he likes business, and it is all right I daresay.'

In another letter she gives an account of the foolish round games which for the moment were the delight of elderly people in Society, and she goes on with this strange statement:

'These parties end in mulled claret for the gentlemen and cigars for the ladies. When we have settled that little frivolous point of Reform in Parliament, we must try something more serious about Reform in Society.'

Lady de Ros herself had taken part in great events. She was the heroine of the Waterloo ball; she lived to be ninety-five; and she knew personally seventeen Prime Ministers, beginning with Pitt and ending with Lord Salisbury; yet there is nothing in the little volume which her daughter, Mrs Swinton, published in 1893, to indicate that she ever considered politics any part of her business. Her husband was a soldier, and it was the intentions of the Horse Guards rather than those of Parliament that concerned her. Perhaps she was satisfied with the degree of political understanding claimed by a lady when Napoleon told her that he detested '*les femmes d'esprit*': '*Pourtant, puisqu'on leur fait l'honneur de leur couper la tête, il faut bien qu'elles aient assez d'esprit pour savoir pourquoi!*'

To go farther back, Lady Charlotte Bury enjoyed living in the world, and wrote about it copiously, yet she gives very much more attention to social and personal affairs than to anything else. Attached as she was to the unhappy Princess Caroline, she was to some extent placed in a political situation, and she does relate the manner in which Society adjusted their treatment of the wife when the husband became Regent; but it is Caroline's private life, her eccentricities, and her indiscretions that she sets out to describe. Incidentally she tells an amusing story which suggests that if women in Society took any part in politics it was rather to hinder public affairs than to help in their administration.

'In the midst of all these political speculations' (she writes in 1810), 'Lord Grey has . . . gone back to Northumberland. . . . I asked Lord Lauderdale if Lord Grey's friends did not find fault with his being out of the way at such a moment. "By no means," answered he with great gravity, "Lady Grey is to be confined very soon, and he sacrifices everything to the consideration of his wife. He was quite in the right. I always do the same thing."'

Lord Eldon lived to a great age and spent all his life in politics. He was devoted to his wife, but it is evident that she took no more part in his public work than he took in the management of her kitchen. He wrote constantly to one of his daughters and his letters are full of State affairs; but he was inclined to write about himself, and this was his principal personal interest. Assistance and advice from her he never thought of soliciting. Mrs Charles Bagot's recollections\* go back to the time of Lord Eldon's death. She saw a great deal of the world and knew a great many people. The book is interesting and agreeable; it is the work of a high-bred, cultivated woman of the best type; but it has nothing to do with politics. Society, travel, folk-lore, art, places and people all came into the scope of her observation; but the play of parties and the aspirations of individuals she left to others. Lady Dorothy Nevill has had much to do with the politicians of her time; but her interest is rather in persons than in politics. Mrs Pickering, on the other hand, confines herself entirely to the politics of Holkham. Mr Hare certainly did not intend his 'Story of Two Noble Lives' to be a political book.

Princess Lieven is not a fair example. She was not an Englishwoman, and she was a politician by profession as well as by temperament. It is true that she flung herself into the stream of political life in this country with an energy which was nowhere excelled. She probably credited everybody with her own enthusiasm, and scented political intrigue wherever she went. 'I divide my time in London between the Ministerial and Opposition salons,' she writes to her brother in 1820. 'Lady Jersey holds her club in the latter; it is most amusing for a neutral'—which she certainly was not.

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\* 'Links with the Past.'



She says that her particular friends are 'Lady Jersey, Lady Cowper,' etc. She stayed much in country houses where the atmosphere was bound to be political, and beyond question many of her hostesses were interested in the fate of parties ; but it is remarkable that she never gives an instance of one of them doing or saying anything that led to any definite consequence. She even relates the varying fortunes of the favourite ladies of George IV ; but these appear to be matters of purely domestic interest ; and it seems not unreasonable to believe that, with all her boasted neutrality, she took a more active part in politics during her residence in London than all the other ladies in Society put together.

A very political lady, who lived until 1826, was Lady Sarah Lennox ; but she was then eighty-one, and her career belongs rather to the preceding century. George III was in love with her ; she married twice and led an eventful life. She belonged to the Holland House world and was reared upon politics. In 1762 she wrote to Lady Susan O'Brien : 'As to politicks, I have renounced them and their vanities, for 'tis only wishing for what one can't have and expecting what one don't get.' This resolve was the result of disappointment ; she was unhappy because her husband, Mr Bunbury, was not to be made Chief Secretary for Ireland. After he had become Sir Charles, and she had run away from him, her zest returned, and her letters until the end of her life show a deep interest in public affairs. In her old age she offered some observations upon the changes she had witnessed. They are worth noting for two reasons : they show that in spite of a rather stormy existence she had preserved a kind heart ; also that she had detected symptoms which we are apt to think peculiar to our generation.

'I do not perceive any alterations in the ways of London since almost our younger days' (she writes in 1815), 'except . . . in the sanction given to unmarried women to take lead even in their parents' houses . . . the same objects in Society seem going on. In the political circle it is consequence, in the fine one it is superiority . . . upon the whole I don't believe the present generation are worse than the last, except that the excess of dissipation leads more to blind their natural good



feelings . . . their comforts are so entirely guided by their situations.'

Lady Susan was more severe. Society was no longer select, she complained in 1818; entertainments were too numerous and too crowded. Parliament was no longer what it had been. In old days long speeches were rare, even with the great orators; now they were 'the daily practice on every topic and by everybody.' All are orators, she complains, and the consequence is that all social engagements are postponed until late hours, which involves a great expense in candle-light and is hurtful to the health of young persons. The manners in her society have become slovenly and unduly familiar. In the lower ranks the spirit of the French Revolution has made every ale-house a political centre, full of dangerous Radicals who criticise the King, grumble at rank and riches, call themselves gentlemen, and ape their superiors.

After all there can be no better source of information upon our subject than Greville, who spent his life in political society. If we would have the conclusion of the whole matter from him, we cannot do better than take his account of Lady Jersey's quarrel with Lord Durham in 1831. She had attacked him at a Drawing-room and demanded a public withdrawal of certain charges he had made against her. He was supposed to have said that Lady Durham must request an audience of the Queen in order to contradict the things Lady Jersey had said of her and other Whig ladies. Lady Jersey denied having said anything to the Queen, but she admitted to Greville that she had been indiscreet. 'All this comes of talking,' says Greville, and in this perilous delight we seem to see the principal share taken by ladies in political life. He makes an exception in the case of Mrs Arbuthnot, in whom the Duke of Wellington placed much confidence, and who, he says, was 'very prudent and silent.' Another lady who was undoubtedly trusted by the Duke was Lady Bathurst.

One incident indeed there was which gives the impression that the Drawing-rooms were supposed to play an important part in politics. Sir Robert Peel refused to take office in 1839 if all the Whig ladies at Court were to retain their places. Melbourne, says Greville, 'ought

to have taken care that the female part of [the Queen's] household should not have a political complexion.' And in 1841 the Duke of Bedford 'sent in the Duchess's resignation, as he found that Peel meant to require the retirement of three Ladies of the Household connected with the Government—Sutherland, Bedford, and Normanby.' But throughout his long and candid journal there are very few records of any woman having taken an active part or exercised direct influence: secret machinations he either failed to detect or scrupled to chronicle. In 1834 Lady Holland told him that she had been the channel of communication by which the arrangement of giving the Chief Baronship to Lyndhurst had been carried on. In 1860 Lady Palmerston created a sensation by openly denouncing Gladstone's Paper Duties Bill, and the Prime Minister was perhaps unfortunate in his attempt to smooth matters, when he offered the stern Chancellor of the Exchequer this consolation: 'Of course you are mortified and disappointed, but your disappointment is nothing to mine, who had a horse with whom I hoped to win the Derby, and he went amiss at the last moment.' Finally, one lady was the innocent cause of putting a Prime Minister in an unfortunate predicament when Mr Norton brought his unsuccessful action for divorce and made Lord Melbourne co-respondent.\*

We now turn to the three books named at the head of this article. Lady Westmorland is already known to us through a former volume, which contained her correspondence with the Duke of Wellington when she was Lady Burghersh. She was born in 1793. Her father was Wellesley Pole, son of the first Earl of Mornington, and brother of the Marquis Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington. He was created Lord Maryborough, and eventually succeeded his eldest brother, Lord Wellesley, in the father's earldom. Priscilla Wellesley Pole was therefore the Duke's niece; she became his most intimate and cherished companion and friend. Her husband was A.D.C. to the Duke during the Peninsular War. In 1841 he succeeded his father as eleventh Earl of Westmorland.

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\* It may be worth noting that the careers of two Irish leaders were affected by women. O'Connell at the end of his life was 'passionately in love with a young girl' (see Walpole's 'History of England'). Of greater consequence was the Parnell divorce case,

Between the years 1814 and 1856 he represented Great Britain at the Courts of Florence, Berlin, and Vienna; he died in 1859.

Placed in these circumstances, it was impossible for Lady Westmorland to avoid immediate acquaintance and, indeed, some personal concern with the public events of the time. Her letters do not suggest what is generally described as a clever woman; there is no attempt at fine writing; no pretence of wit; they are quite free from pose and affectation. Yet she can never have been dull or unsympathetic. Amongst her friends were Metternich, Talleyrand, and Madame de Staël. Those who became her friends remained her friends until death, and their letters show that they loved and admired her personally without thought of her rank and station. Pozzo di Borgo was devoted to her; so were men who had nothing to do with governments and embassies. Humboldt, the naturalist, Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, Rauch the sculptor, all came under her spell. She evidently had brains enough to appreciate them all in their several spheres; but it was not her habit to seek out or encourage talent in the professions. She was sincerely fond of music and she was attached to Jenny Lind. She went to the theatre, but knew no actors; if she did, she never mentions them. Her strictures on some sightseers in Berlin reveal some knowledge of art; yet we never hear of her entertaining a painter;\* possibly because in her opinion we had had nothing but 'daubers' since Lawrence. Authors do not appear to have interested her, and we may be sure that she numbered no journalist amongst her acquaintance. The members of the royal family who came to her house met none but statesmen, diplomatists, and perhaps a soldier, such as her brother-in-law, Lord Raglan. She was a great lady after the old manner.

One cannot fail to notice that with such a character physical courage is a natural instinct. She was in Berlin during the street fighting of 1848: 'We were in the midst of the battle,' she writes complacently. But perhaps a better proof of her power of self-control is provided by her account of her conduct at Cambridge

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\* In later years her daughter met Mr Weigall in Society, and married him.

when her son Julian was presented with the Chancellor's medal for English verse.

'Mr Hood says that "my lady behaved beautifully," which means' (she writes) 'that I did not show any emotion whatever, though my heart beat in my throat; but I had promised July that I would be as unmoved as a stone.'

Yet she was not a placid woman. 'For God's sake don't give it the odious name of Coalition, but call it Reconciliation,' she cried impatiently when Lord Ellenborough spoke of a coalition of the scattered sections of the Conservative party after 1846. And she would have no compromise with dissimulation.

'I had a great deal of conversation with Lord Malmesbury' (she wrote some years later), 'and the impression left on my mind was that cowardice rules the day . . . fear of prejudices . . . dread of unpopularity. . . . I really think Sir R. Peel was the only statesman besides the Duke who never would and never did go the least one side of truth.' . . . 'You will remember' (she wrote on another occasion), 'what I have often said of my own experience in *modifications* which honest men allow themselves in that atmosphere [House of Lords], which elsewhere they would spurn.'

She disliked violence. Thus she describes a dinner at Lord Brougham's in 1846:

'I sat between him and Lord Ellenborough. I was astounded at the foolish and absurd talk of the latter. . . . Brougham himself was violently excited . . . and between the two I might as well have been in a room at Bedlam.'

What she thought of Brougham afterwards does not appear; but he remained one of her most constant correspondents, and spared no pains to ingratiate himself. Her friends must needs be his friends: Metternich becomes 'dear Prince Metternich,' and the Duke 'the dear Beau,' which Lady Westmorland probably resented as impertinence.

King Leopold wrote to her regularly for many years, and one other correspondent must be named, because her share in the volume under review is conspicuous. Comtesse Pauline Néale had been Maid of Honour to the excellent and unhappy Queen Louise of Prussia, whom she had accompanied in her flight before Napoleon in

1806. She commenced a friendship with Lady Westmorland in Berlin which grew in strength until the death of the Comtesse in 1869. She knew all that passed in Berlin, and her letters afford a valuable commentary on the birth of the German Empire. This is outside the scope of our observations, but we must pause to make two notes. When Parliament was convened at Frankfort after the Revolution of 1848, one of the members returned for Breslau was a beggar 'who lived on the parish there, and a number of the citizens agreed to elect him, as he will get three dollars a day while the Assembly sits . . . on the understanding that he will never trouble the parish again.' 'See if these people are fit to be trusted with popular representation,' is Lady Westmorland's comment upon this. Again, she repeats a conversation which she has had with Queen Victoria :

'She cannot conceive that the plan of a United German Empire . . . can ever succeed. . . . [She] never can conceive that it is necessary or possible to *mediate* the Sovereigns . . . or that the different armies can be amalgamated.'

Her Majesty was probably influenced by Baron Bunsen, the Prussian Minister, for Lady Westmorland writes :

'Frederick Lamb told me he had a conversation with Prince Albert upon German affairs. . . . He talked of Bunsen as an oracle. F. gave him his opinions openly and said . . . "if Bunsen's principles are monarchical, all his actions and words are those of a fool; if he is a Republican, then he is a traitor!" F. says he appeared nettled.'

Of Lady Westmorland's intimacy with the Duke enough evidence is forthcoming. If more were needed, it could be found in the testimony of Metternich, who wrote after the Duke's death :

'It was from himself that I learnt the affection he bore for you, which was a proof to me that my trust in you was the result of a direct inspiration.'

And before we part with Prince Metternich it is worth remarking that his death was attributed to the bad news from the war in Italy in 1859. The exhausted body succumbed under the added anguish of mind, as Pitt was killed by the news of Austerlitz.

That Lady Westmorland's place in the Duke's affections was supplemented by trust in her discretion must have been well known. In 1840 she received a letter from Lord Melbourne one day, marked 'Immediate,' appealing to her to conduct negotiations with the Duke for avoiding a grave situation in Parliament in connexion with the question of the precedence to be accorded to the Prince Consort. 'The Duke paid me a long visit yesterday,' is a common phrase; '. . . he told me a conversation he had had lately with the King' (1835). Through her we learn a good deal that is interesting about Sir Robert Peel and about his relations with the Duke. Every one remembers the Duke's lament that 'I have no small talk, and Peel has no manners.' Once to Lady Westmorland he deplored Peel's 'woeful want of spirit.' One would like to know Peel's candid opinion of the Duke. In 1836 Lord Hardinge consulted Lady Westmorland upon the propriety of Peel inviting the Duke to Drayton—'but this of course is not to be breathed to a soul (least of all to the Duke), as all the grace of the thing would be lost if not supposed to be spontaneous.' Peel no doubt regarded the Duke with the veneration due to his character and position, but he never humbled himself. After 1846 relations were naturally strained. Peel had been bitterly attacked for his eulogy on Cobden in the House of Commons:

'Our friends say he is mad' (wrote Lady Westmorland), 'and consider the line he has taken very insulting to those who have eaten dirt for him. The Protectionists, of course, are more furious than ever.'

The Duke showed his disposition to mend the breach.

'He told me he had met Peel riding in the Park. He stopped him and then joined him, though he said he evidently saw Peel had no wish to do any such thing. He opened at once on the state of things . . . in short he did everything to show and to provoke confidence. He never responded a word, made no remark, and when they reached the House of Lords he said something about being happy to see the Duke in such health, and then rode off, evidently glad to get rid of him.'

Ten years before the Duke had written that he 'found him very cordial, very anxious to pull with him, and that he really believed their opinions now agreed in every

particular.' Now the strain had been too severe, and the Duke's urbanity, which perhaps came as a surprise, could not penetrate the frigid pride of Sir Robert. Yet Lady Westmorland had no prejudice. She had lately dined at his house. 'I own,' she says, 'I thought him extremely agreeable. He talked a great deal about the Queen with a great deal of feeling and attachment.' We have seen how much she admired his truthfulness. The Queen herself had outgrown her original distrust of Peel. After his death she said to Lady Westmorland that

'the loss to her was irreparable. He was her best, her kindest, her most devoted friend. . . . She said she did not envy the feelings of those who had so maligned and misjudged him; and added, "though his noble heart was so much above all the spite shown him, I know that he often suffered much for the bitterness of those who should have been his friends."'

The shy, proud nature of Peel was sorely wounded. He had done what he conceived to be his duty. He knew that his old colleagues and followers were reviling him, and he could not dissociate the Duke from 'those who should have been his friends.'

On the opposite side of politics Lady Westmorland had her friends. After the fall of the Government in 1846 Lord Palmerston wrote to her at once to ask whether her husband would be willing to remain at Berlin now that he had himself become Foreign Secretary; she took the responsibility of accepting the offer and gave Lord Palmerston due credit for his conduct. 'Lady Palmerston,' she writes, 'is extremely cordial to me, and I hear is much pleased at my telling everybody that Lord Palmerston's conduct has been so handsome and gentlemanlike.' In later years she was much in the confidence of the Whigs through the Duke of Bedford, who became one of her most punctual correspondents.

'What I now tell you, although no great secret, must not go beyond the four walls of your own little room at Apethorpe—at least, not on my authority,'

he writes in 1858, and he gives an amusing account of another political lady in full activity:

'Lady Molesworth made an attempt to bring Lord Palmerston and John together (politically) at a dinner she gave for



them two days ago, but it flashed in the pan. The former did not go till the evening, and John sent by telegraph that he was snowed up at Richmond Park. It was Lady Molesworth who brought Lord Palmerston and Mr Delane together and made them friends. Hence the change of the tone in the "Times" that I suppose encouraged her to make a second attempt.'

Lady Westmorland was not without her dark hours. The Crimean War filled her with horror. She disapproved of the policy which led us into it; she believed what Metternich told her he had heard from Nesselrode—that the Emperor had never meant to fight; that he had never dreamt of going to Constantinople; and that he had only been dragged into war by the unwarranted faith he had placed in England's sincerity. 'England is struggling on the edge of a social revolution,' said Metternich, and she agreed with him. The Conservative party had been compromised by their union with the Democrats and were powerless to save the situation. 'All connected with the war,' she says, 'is repugnant to all the principles in which I have lived since childhood.' Finally, 'I am so humiliated . . . to see the nation come down from that elevation, which no one formerly contested, . . . that I blush for England.' But it must not be forgotten that she had cause for personal anxiety and sorrow. Lord Raglan was her brother-in-law; she was fondly attached to him; and her son, Lord Burghersh, was serving as his A.D.C.

She had not always been a safe political guide. She once wrote that Lord Palmerston was to go at once to the House of Lords. In 1864 she told her son Julian that General Peel was now the recognised leader of the Conservative party; he would be the head of the next Government, not Lord Derby, nor Disraeli. But if she was not a good prophet she was sufficiently in the movement to have collected impressions and memorials that are well worth our reading now. In fact her life was so much occupied with politics that she has little time for social news; but she gives us an occasional glimpse of her contemporaries. Sarah, Lady Jersey, was her husband's sister, and of her we have these indications. Her daughter had recently died, and when Lady Westmorland went to see her she seems to have found her more cheerful than was to be expected, for Comtesse Néale writes



that this was no doubt due to courageous resolve to show a good front before others ; 'and then' (she goes on) 'her smart dress seems strange ; it is force of habit, no doubt.' At the age of seventy-nine she is described as 'still brilliant, talkative, gay, always beautifully dressed in the latest fashion, in sky-blue or rose colour, with flowers in her (own) hair, which is not grey—décolleté with short sleeves. . . . She has kept her sight, hearing, and memory without any change.' Later still Lady Westmorland writes :

'Lady Jersey told me that Lord Clarendon had called on her, and reported his conversation with the Emperor Napoleon. Lady Jersey is always, I think, very correct in her reports.'

Another social observation is remarkable. Lady Westmorland had always felt a great antipathy for Napoleon ; to her he was a clever 'scoundrel.' In 1863 her son was his guest at Compiègne, and there he became seriously ill. She went over to bring him home, and not only did she acknowledge the Emperor's kindness, she was won by his personal charm and recognised, as Queen Victoria had already done,\* the evidence of his high-bred instinct : 'He tries to put others at their ease, and he is always himself a perfect gentleman.'

Lady Westmorland held a very high position in society and in diplomacy. She was on terms of peculiar intimacy with the Duke of Wellington. She had the power of extracting confidence and admiration. She sought no political power and had no end in view. Consequently she was liked and trusted by political opponents, and her relations with the men at the head of both parties were so sympathetic that she undoubtedly became something more than a mere spectator. If she was not quite an actor, she probably discharged some useful offices behind the scenes. It only remains to say that Lady Rose Weigall has done her work with discretion, and supplied all the necessary elucidation clearly and concisely.

The Duchesse de Dino was Talleyrand's niece ; she was separated from her husband, and acted as hostess for her uncle whilst he was ambassador in London. She was frankly political ; she could not be otherwise. She does

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\* 'Letters of Queen Victoria,' vol. iii.

not exhibit the same love of action as Princess Lieven, but she took a keen interest in what she saw passing before her eyes, and there is nothing to indicate that she devoted herself to politics at the sacrifice of more congenial occupations. She was apt to complain that the Cabinet were grudging of confidence, and that she had to rely to a great extent upon rumour. A country house, where politics were not talked, bored her. She stayed at Warwick Castle in 1834 and found it intolerably dull; during dinner the talk was all of county balls, Leamington Spa, and local gossip; the men lingered unduly in the dining room; when they came upstairs there was tea; at ten a 'sort of supper; at eleven there was a general move to bed, which seemed to be a relief to every one.'

She liked Englishmen; they were cold, reserved, and unimaginative, but underneath the stiff outside there was a surprising fund of good sense, goodness, learning, and cleverness; but they must never affect an unnatural manner:

'They should be judged only on their own ground. An Englishman on the Continent is so much out of his element that he runs the risk of being taken either for an idiot or a coxcomb.'

She disliked Palmerston, who, she says, cut her uncle and herself in private life, and was officially hostile; and she makes frequent allusions to his bad temper and bad manners. Brougham she detested and despised; he was dirty, vulgar, greedy, cynical, and 'drunk with wine and words.' In fact she hated and feared all Radicals, except Lord John Russell, whom she found it impossible to dislike personally. Brougham told her that the Reform Bill had effected 'a *complete* revolution without bloodshed.' For her part she saw in the state of England an exact reproduction of the opening scenes of the French Revolution. She liked Queen Adelaide for her kind nature, but she spoke ill of most women. Yet she was not a bitter woman. She might well have been jealous of Princess Lieven, but she always writes of her with admiration, and admits that her departure was 'a very serious matter for London Society.' She hated Lady Jersey, and evidently thought nothing of her political influence. Here is her opinion:

'She has neither restraint, nor ability, nor generosity, nor kindness, nor honesty, nor dignity. She is either mocked or hated. Her heart is bad, her head empty, her society tedious.'

Most of the ladies of Society she contrives to make ridiculous. Lady Londonderry, before her confinement, was so confident of having a son that she ordered a uniform of her husband's regiment of hussars for a child of six days old. The tailor suggested six years. 'No, six days; it is for his baptism.' Lady Salisbury, the mother of the Prime Minister (she who brought the Gascoigne name into the family), is represented as so stupid and ignorant that when she heard in the course of a sermon that Adam had excused himself on the ground that the woman had tempted him, she was carried away by the novelty of the idea, and shouted out 'Shabby fellow, indeed.' Lady Tankerville is introduced only for the sake of her 'naïve silliness.' Lady Holland, we perceive, was neither liked nor respected, although she is credited with zeal in public matters. On one occasion she hastened to Lord Brougham to insist that Lord Lansdowne should not be allowed to resign. Her embassy was coldly received, and in her anger she asked whether the Chancellor realised all that Lord Lansdowne represented. 'Oh yes, all the old women in England' was his answer. The Duchesse de Dino says that Brougham owed his start in life to the Hollands, and that he had repaid them with studied incivility. Certainly this story goes some way to confirm the accusation. She also gives Lady Holland credit for endeavouring, with Lady Cowper, to smooth matters between Lord Palmerston and Talleyrand when the ambassador was about to leave England. But she would not admit that the possession of Holland House was any justification for eccentric habits and a tyrannical temper. She carefully notes that Lord Conyngham is to be made Postmaster-General on social, not political grounds; but she does not explain how this is connected with the fact that his mother was one of the late King's favourites. She makes William IV appear ridiculous enough with his capricious temper and crazy speeches; indeed she says that at times he was on the verge of insanity if not actually insane. The Duke of Cumberland had publicly announced that the King was as mad as their father,

which, says the Duchess, was not a brotherly or filial speech.

It has been said that the Duchess had strong conservative instincts. She took the gloomiest view of English politics and was no doubt a sympathetic listener when she met a 'Conservative Peer, a clever and honourable man,' who, she says, moved her greatly:

'With tears in his eyes he lamented the degradation of his country, the ruin of this great and venerable fabric. He foresaw a terrible struggle . . . between the two Houses: the Radical spirit must control the present Ministry.'

And when Lady Cowper lamented 'the unrest of every one, their distrust of the present, their gloomy forebodings for the future,' we need not be surprised at such private reflections as this:

'It is impossible not to think with terror of the future of this great country, which was still so brilliant and so proud four years ago.'

Perhaps the Englishman she liked and admired most was the Duke of Wellington, and his views of course matched her own. Here is his summary of the situation:

'To stop and, above all, to return is impossible. Robespierre was at least honest as regards money; his power was founded on disinterestedness; but those who intend to govern us and are going to be our rulers will not be guided by the same considerations—at least I fear not.'

Politics were, in fact, the daily food and sole diet of the Duchesse de Dino, not so much from choice as of necessity. Society was an adjunct to her political position, not politics the complement of her social obligations.

These two books belong to the same time and type. They show us English Society, aristocratic, dignified, moving slowly and intent upon serious matters. It was an age of sedateness and comparative repose. The minds of the generation were disturbed, it is true, by what they considered revolutionary symptoms; but the spirit of the times was purely conservative, and the habits of Society tranquil and unenterprising in comparison with the restless existence indicated by the crowded pages of Lady St Helier's book.

Contrast, rather than comparison, is the obvious

purpose which this volume serves. The Duchesse de Dino was a foreigner; so we will content ourselves with Lady Westmorland. Her active years were spent in the thick of politics and diplomacy: she could not avoid public life. Lady St Helier is a politician by choice, not necessity. Lady Westmorland took things as she found them and had little desire to gaze beyond: Lady St Helier began early to find things out for herself and her ardent spirit has never rested. Her zest of living is insatiable; her interest in her fellow creatures unlimited. Lady Westmorland's book it is true covers a period of nearly sixty years, but it proceeds with tranquil gravity. Lady St Helier, in her 'Memories of Fifty Years,' takes us at such a pace that we finish out of breath. There have been very few people of note during that period with whom she has not conversed; but the reader who takes up her book in the hope of finding great revelations will be disappointed. Discretion and good taste have doubtless held her hand: State secrets we have none. In fact, her book is rather a catalogue than a history. It tells too much and too little. It is crowded with names, but many are mentioned only to be dismissed. Her stage is overfull; processions march on and march off again without speaking. Of so interesting a person as Lord Kitchener, we learn only that he danced for the first time in Harley Street. The only character of whom we take away new impressions is Lord Randolph Churchill; the sketch of him is extremely well done. Lady St Helier has long been well known even outside her vast acquaintance. Her constant and comprehensive hospitality whilst she lived in Harley Street was a matter of common knowledge. It was understood that one evening she would entertain Cabinet Ministers, past, present, and future, with an ambassador or two, and perhaps a field-marshal; next day an actor, an artist, a novelist, an editor, an explorer, a budding millionaire, and a couple of political candidates of opposite opinions; on the next there would be a dinner and dance for the young ladies and gentlemen who formed the inner circle of fashion for the moment; and at the end of the week there would be a dinner composed of all these elements happily blended—wives of course included on all occasions. Her spare evenings would be devoted to political meetings or philanthropic work. Nobody has

seen more of Society than Lady St Helier or done more to bring together its component parts. Her taste is catholic, her sympathy profuse. She has known well all the leading politicians of her day. She has been unwearied in well-doing towards innumerable young aspirants, and those from both parties, although her own predilections are strongly pronounced. She has spoken to Palmerston, entertained Disraeli, and been visited by Parnell. In connexion with the last episode, she was unlucky: Mr Forster was her friend, and she took the precaution of saying that in case he called he must be told she was not at home. He did call, in time to see his political enemy admitted and to find himself turned away.

Early in the book we come upon celebrities. Lady St Helier was brought up in austere simplicity, bordering on hardship; but her mother apparently had no mind to practise what she preached. Her husband, Mackenzie of Seaforth, was ordered with his regiment to Ireland. She, disliking the prospect of inconvenience and discomfort, wrote to ask the Duke of Wellington to procure some other appointment, and received a stern reply, pointing out that she had no occasion to shrink from a fate which was not too hard for Lady Charles Wellesley. Lady St Helier first married Colonel Stanley, a guardsman, who had served in the Crimea, been on Lord Canning's staff in India, and done ambulance work in Paris during the Commune. He unsuccessfully contested Maidstone as a Conservative, and this was her only personal connexion with political life. Her second husband was Mr Jeune, one of the most amiable and popular men of his generation, who became a judge and Lord St Helier.

Birth and marriage gave opportunities to Lady St Helier which her remarkable talent for Society and her indomitable energy turned to the best possible account, and one cannot help wishing that she had devoted more space to her chapters on 'London in the Sixties.' She was the guest in those days of Lady Cowper, Lady Stanhope, Lady Waldegrave, Lady Molesworth, all the great political ladies of the day; but she tells us little more than the fact that they were political hostesses, of which we were already aware. Of the company she met there, we hear nothing. Julian Fane was 'attractive and delightful'; Henry Cowper was 'witty and delightful.'

Cowper is known to have been one of the most amusing men in England, and one wants to hear more of him. This kind of record reminds one of the gentleman who, in his memoirs, described one dinner as so delightful that he must needs draw a diagram of the table; the plain enumeration of the guests would not suffice; but of the conversation he related not one word. It would not be just to say that the book is as tantalising as this throughout. We get an idea of Lady Palmerston's zeal, bent upon enlisting and encouraging her husband's forces, aided by Mr Abraham Hayward and a staff of assistants. We learn that Frances, Countess Waldegrave, was very liberal in her ideas, and first opened her doors to the Irish members. In her house Lady St Helier saw Mr Butt and began her friendship with Mr Justin McCarthy. Of Lady Molesworth we are told that 'perhaps she prided herself on her society being more select; but then her house was small, and she had no political obligations'; which is rather unexpected. The widow of the 'philosophic Radical' ought not to have been exclusive, and her delight in political people ought to have opened wide her doors, if not her heart. We should have been sincerely grateful for a full account of these two ladies. Neither of them had any advantage in the circumstances of birth. Lady Waldegrave married four times, always profitably; two of her husbands were peers, and she became rich. But it must have been force of character in both cases that earned for them a recognised position in political society, and even secured for them the compliment of a nickname. 'Frank' and 'Moley' are traditions now; but to the rising generation they are little more, and we should have welcomed some amplification of the scanty records of their habits and manners which have been published.

Having said so much, we desire to make it clear that our complaint is of the omissions, not the commissions, of the book. For the reasons given, it is foolish to pretend, as some critics have done, that it will rank for all time as the standard memorial of the period. That it cannot do; but it is an admirable illustration of the social conditions of a generation, and it gives an agreeable picture of a cultivated, generous woman, who finds the times have moved and who



moves nimbly with them. It is easy and pleasant to read, and nobody can find fault with the tone and temper. There are some small inaccuracies which should have been corrected; one story, but only one, which perhaps it were better to omit. It is possibly injudicious to say that a prominent Liberal could not be unselfishly attached to his party because he was a rich man; and we would respectfully submit that the epithet *brutal* is an excessive accentuation of the *bluff* and *rough* already applied to Sir Redvers Buller. But trifling condemnation is praise; and at all events this kind of book must always be welcome as a contrast to the crapulous and malicious publications that are occasionally compiled by people who have dwelt on the borders of politics and Society without gaining admission into either.

Incidentally Lady St Helier tells two stories which serve very well to contrast the characters of Mr Gladstone and Lord Salisbury. One night, she says, she met Mr Gladstone dining with Lady Tweedmouth:

'Someone who was there . . . repeated a rather cynical opinion of Lord Beaconsfield's. Mr Gladstone listened patiently until the end of the story and then, with flashing eye, striking the table with his clenched fist, exclaimed, "I call that hellish!"'

We are bound to observe that Mr G. W. E. Russell \* says that the some one was Mr Browning, that the expletive was *devilish*, and that he had the story from Mr Browning himself. It would be interesting to know whether Lady St Helier accepts this version; but in any case the point of the story remains good, and displays the uncompromising earnestness of the one Prime Minister. The other Prime Minister appears also as a patient listener, but in the spirit of perfect courtesy and irrepressible humour, which made him the most delightful of mankind. He had undergone a long siege from a tiresome woman. 'I hope you had an agreeable evening,' said Lady St Helier, when he had escaped. 'I have had a highly educational one,' was Lord Salisbury's gentle answer.

Posterity, reading these memoirs, may not gather that the ladies of the period exercised control over

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\* 'Collections and Recollections.'



political events, but they cannot fail to perceive that they were admitted very freely into the exciting atmosphere of political life, and that nobody breathed it with greater freedom and enjoyment than Lady St Helier.

None of these volumes can be wholly satisfactory from the point of view of this article. We need a modern Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, a Lady Charlotte Bury, even a Lady Sarah Lennox, to illuminate the middle period of the century. Biographies of statesmen abound; the political women are little more than shadows to the new generation. Nevertheless certain conditions and principles are clearly outlined, and a number of characters are distinctly revealed. Politicians were still to a large extent a privileged caste. Even Gladstone confessed a social diffidence. Disraeli never did that; but we know very well what view Society took of him. The great Whig families were closely related by inter-marriage. Poor Lord Grey, for example, was sorely distressed; the savage temper of his son-in-law, Lord Durham, was an equal trial to himself and his daughter. When Lord John Russell was Prime Minister it was alleged that his entire Cabinet claimed a common great-grandmother. In these circumstances it was not unnatural that public careers should occupy a great deal of attention in family gatherings. As a rule opponents kept away from one another and lived with their political friends. But they were on easy terms when they met. One day, when Lord Derby was Prime Minister, a stupid servant denied him the *entrée* at a Court ceremony. He chose to pour out his grievance to Lord John Russell: 'He tried to turn me out,' he cried. 'Thou canst not say I did it,' answered the leader of the Opposition. And when the opposition to the Reform Bill led to very violent talk, the Duke of Wellington pleasantly remarked, 'I tell Johnny Bedford that if we have anarchy I'll have Woburn.' But there does not appear to have been habitual intimacy.

The value of attention to political supporters was well understood. Lady Palmerston stands out as unquestionably the great political hostess. Her Saturdays are spoken of to-day. She lived for her husband and his career; there can be no doubt that she was an important asset to his popularity. She was not a mere stair-head hostess;

she used infinite tact. The 'Morning Post' was Palmerston's friend in the press, and Lady Palmerston used to take great pains in editing her lists. The rank and file must not be made jealous by reading of those, no better than themselves, who had been asked to dine. Those who had dined must not be disappointed by finding their names unadvertised. These delicate degrees must be adjusted with the nicest discrimination. When she had an awkward case to deal with, her habit was to post her invitation rather late, and if possible to a wrong address, so that it should arrive after the party was over. She must certainly be regarded as the greatest of Prime Ministers' wives. Lord Derby's wife left no mark upon her time; nor did either of Lord John Russell's. Mrs Gladstone will be remembered rather for her notorious domestic devotion than for any political activity. Of Disraeli's wife more may be said. Readers of his novels will remember that many of his heroes owe their success in large measure to their wives. Coningsby did, and Egremont; Endymion owed everything to Lord Montfort's widow, whom he ultimately married. These books are indeed a blend throughout of politics and Society; and the writer's own feeling is confessed in his dedication of Sybil to his 'perfect wife.'

Nobody understood better than Disraeli the importance of social influence in the House of Commons. If a member became restive or lazy, the Whip was told to ascertain whether the wife and daughters were short of invitations. The domestic affairs of his obscurest supporters were to him matters of personal concern. Once, when he thought the situation called for a grand entertainment, he requested the Whip to 'prepare a catalogue' of people to be invited, but, with the instinct of genius, he directed that there should be not 'too many quizzes—else the distinction would be neutralised.'

Of the late Lady Salisbury it is needless to speak. Of her ability, her force of character, and her political sagacity, nobody who ever came near her can entertain a doubt. She was a power from above, and represents the contrast to such professional politicians as Lady Waldegrave and Lady Molesworth. These ladies, rising from obscurity, were enabled by marriage to indulge an aspiration for excitement and adventure. They liked to live

in the thick of the movement, and to flatter themselves that they were in part responsible for it. To the extent of bringing together people who were busily employed in various ways, and on divers grounds notorious, they doubtless stimulated the body politic; but it must not be supposed that they ever occupied the political positions that belonged by right to Lady Palmerston, Lady Cowper, Lady Stanhope, or that other Lady Salisbury who was the second wife of the second Marquis, and afterwards married the fifteenth Earl of Derby. Lady Jersey, as we know, dabbled in politics, but she was before all things the leader of fashion and arbitress in questions of social pretension; her great aspiration was to be what Lady Sarah Lennox called 'superior in fine society.' To her, perhaps, may be most justly applied the criticism of Mr Hayward in his essay on Lady Derby: English women, he says, can never talk politics; their minds run only upon men, not measures. Lady Stuart de Rothsay, writing to Lady Canning\* in 1859, says:

'I heard this hot and hot, for I had gone to dine with the Jerseys. We had a quiet evening; but she was very anxious for House of Commons news, and several peers, Redesdale and others, came in, after listening to several speeches.'

But the report which caused so much agitation was merely the failure of Lord Stanley's speech through the interruption of a squealing baby, smuggled into the gallery, it was alleged, by a political opponent!

It would carry us far beyond our limits if we tried to analyse the temper which inspired political society in those more stately days, and ascertain whether there was more, or less, bitterness in the rivalry of parties. It may be assumed without much hesitation that there was less. For one thing, party distinctions were less definite: combinations and coalitions were the order of the day. The faster and more furious the struggle, the more violent must be the tone of the opposing sides and the greater the danger of personal animus. Political feeling no doubt ran high at the time of the Reform Bill and during the repeal of the Corn Laws; but for the next forty years there was little occasion for savage antagonism. Home Rule rekindled the flame, and since

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\* 'Story of Two Noble Lives,' iii, 6.

then it may be feared that private friendships are more apt than they were to be disturbed by political prejudices. We have seen that the connexion between Society and Politics has undergone gradual change. The only women who took an active part in the politics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the Court favourites, and their power was notorious. In the nineteenth they disappeared, and influence, if not power, passed into the hands of the wives and sisters of the politicians. How far their influence reached must remain, as we have seen, to some extent a matter of opinion. But there is every indication that, in the latest phase, the range of action claimed by women is growing wider. The unchallenged authority of the Court has been exchanged for the uncompromising struggles of a democratic community. Since the establishment and the amazing development of the Primrose League, women have been caught in the political vortex. They canvass and make speeches. Personal connexions and social position tempt them to activity. We have even lived to see some of the first and foremost members of the Primrose League exerting their influence on behalf of Radical relatives, and standing abashed before badges and orders which they themselves bestowed in their unregenerate days. Women workers are a force to be reckoned with at election time: their ardour, once aroused, is apt to make itself felt within the domestic circle and without. The desire for the vote has not originated in what is understood here by the term Society, but it cannot spread without affecting all spheres and classes. Some there are so militant as to avow a determination to attain to membership of Parliament. We shall see: for ourselves, we cannot look upon that prospect as one fraught either with happiness for the home life or with advantage to the public service. But, whatever be the fate of these feminine ambitions, they are not likely to affect the close relation which still exists between Society and Politics. In spite of much disparagement, Parliament retains its honourable estate, and to be in politics is still the highest possible recommendation in Society; nor is there any lack of young men who, ill content with an existence of amusement, find the satisfaction of their aspirations in the arduous and uncertain struggles of political life.

## Art. 2.—A PALACE IN THE SYRIAN DESERT.

HISTORY in retrospect suffers an atmospheric distortion. We look upon a past civilisation and see it, not as it was, but charged with the significance of that through which we gaze, as down the centuries shadow overlies shadow, some dim, some luminous, and some so strongly coloured that all the age behind is tinged with a borrowed hue. So it is that the great revolutions, 'predestined unto us and we predestined,' take on a double power; not only do they turn the current of human action, but to the later comer they seem to modify that which was irrevocably fixed and past. We lend to the dwellers of an earlier day something of our own knowledge; we watch them labouring towards the ineluctable hour, and credit them with a prescience of change not given to man. At no time does this sense of inevitable doom hang more darkly than over the years that preceded the rise of Islam; yet no generation had less data for prophecy than the generation of Muhammad. The Greek and the Persian disputed the possession of western Asia in profitless and exhausting warfare, both harassed from time to time by the predatory expeditions of the nomads on their frontiers, both content to enter into alliance with this tribe or with that, and to set up an Arab satrap over the desert marshes. Thus it happened that the Beni Ghassan served the emperor of the Byzantines, and the Beni Lakhmid fought in the ranks of the Sassanian armies. But neither to Justin II nor to Chosroes the Great came the news that in Mecca a child was born of the Qureish who was to found a military state as formidable as any that the world had seen, and nothing could have exceeded the fantastic improbability of such intelligence.

I had set out from England determined to journey back behind this great dividing line, to search through regions now desolate for evidences of a past that has left little historic record, calling upon the shades to take form again upon the very ground whereon, substantial, they had played their part. Not far from the western bank of the Euphrates there lies a stretch of desert through which few travellers have passed. The

track of Chesney's journey of 1837 skirts it to the west; Thielmann crossed it nearly forty years later, a little farther to the east; Huber, following the Damascus post-road, touched its northern edge. So said Kiepert; and with this meagre information as a base, I questioned the Arabs of the Euphrates concerning the north-west corner of the Sassanian empire. Many an evening by the camp fire of some sheikh of the Weldeh or the Afadleh, I tried to piece together the miscellaneous information that was offered. The sum total seemed to be that water was scarce and raids frequent, but that there were certainly castles, especially in the country of the great sheikh of the Amarat, Fahd ibn Huththāl. There lay Kheidhar, a name unknown to me or to Kiepert. One morning as we rode by the edge of the river my mare shied out of the path, and there swung up alongside of us a jovial personage mounted on a blood camel with his serving-man clinging behind him. He proved to be a brother of Fahd Bey, and with the cheerful optimism of one who will not be called upon to carry out his own advice, he bade us go forward to 'Ana, where any man would take us across the desert to Kheidhar.\* So we crossed the river to 'Ana and there they assured us that at Haditha, two marches ahead, we should undoubtedly find a guide. And at Haditha, sure enough, we met an ancient corporal who expressed his willingness to take us to any point we liked to name; and for water we should have every evening a pool of winter rain.

'But this year there has been no rain,' I objected, 'and all the Arabs are coming down to the river because of the great drought. Where shall we find the water-pools?'

'God knows!' said he piously, and with that I put an end to the negotiations and rode on two stages farther to Hit.

Hit lies upon a very ancient mound washed by the Euphrates. Among the palm trees on the river's edge rise columns of inky smoke from the primitive furnaces of the asphalt burners, for the place is surrounded by pitch-wells, famous since the days when Babylon was

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\* The proper transliteration of the consonant in the middle of the word is the dotted *ḡ*, but for reasons connected with convenience in printing I have here transliterated it *dh*.



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a great city. Heaps of waste and rubbish strew the sulphur marshes to the west of the town, and a blinding dust-storm was stirring up the whole Devil's cauldron when we arrived. We took refuge in the upper room of the khan, where I sat drinking glasses of Persian tea and revolving plans. Finally I summoned Fattuh, companion in many journeys, and presented an ultimatum. Now or never we must strike westward into the desert ; under no circumstances would I take a caravan, it therefore behoved him to gather together the bare necessities for an eight days' expedition and to find a guide.

'Upon my head,' said Fattuh blandly. 'Three guides wish to accompany your Excellency.'

'Praise God !' said I. 'Make them enter.'

'It would be well to see each separately,' observed Fattuh, 'for they do not love one another.'

We interviewed them one by one, with an elaborate show of secrecy, and each in turn spent his time in warning us against the other two. Upon these negative credentials we had to come to a decision, and I made my choice, feeling that I might as logically have tossed up a piastre. It fell on a man of the Deleim, a tribe that has as evil a reputation as any in the desert, but since the country through which we proposed to pass was mainly occupied by their tents, it seemed wiser to take with us one who claimed cousinship with the sheikhs. He was to bring us to Kheidhar and find an escort of five armed men in return for a handsome reward, but we would have to engage our own baggage camels. It was a poor bargain. Fattuh shook his head over it, and we were not much disappointed when our friend came back next day and broke it. For ordinary risks the money was sufficient, he admitted, but Kheidhar lay in the land of his blood enemies, the Beni Hassan, and he would not go. Meantime we had gained a more exact knowledge of what lay before us, and we resolved to ask the Mudir of Hit for a zaptieh to take us to the oasis of Kebeisa, four hours away, and there see what chance might offer us. The Mudir was a man who combined good sense with amiability ; no sooner had he read my passports and permits (of which I kept a varied store) than he declared that it was clearly his duty to do all I wished ; a zaptieh should accompany me, not only to

Kebeisa, but to Khubbaz ('I told him you were a consul in your own country,' interpolated Fattuh), and another should set my caravan along the highway to Kerbela, where we would join it by roads not specified.

So on a brilliant morning—it was March 18—Fattuh and I saw the caravan start out in the direction of Baghdad, not without inner heart-searchings as to where and how we should meet it again, and having loaded three donkeys with all that was left to us of worldly goods, we turned our faces towards the wilderness. I looked back upon the ancient mound of Hit, the palm groves and the dense smoke of the pitch fires rising into the clear air, and as I looked our zaptieh came out to join us—a welcome sight, for the Mudir might well have repented at the eleventh hour. Now no one rides into the desert, however uncertain the adventure, without a keen sense of exhilaration. The bright morning sun, the wide, clean levels, the knowledge that the problems of existence are reduced on a sudden to their simplest expression, your own wit and endurance being the sole determining factors—all these things brace and quicken the spirit. The spell of the waste seized us as we passed beyond the sulphur marshes; Hussein Onbashi held his head higher, and we gave each other the salaam anew, as if we had stepped out into another world that called for a fresh greeting.

'At Hit,' said he, and his words went far to explain the lightness of his heart, 'I have left three wives in the house.'

'Mashallah!' said Fattuh, 'you must be deaf with the gir-gir-gir of them.'

'Eh billah!' assented Hussein, enforcing his asseveration with the name of God, as every good Mohammedan will. 'I shut my ears. Three wives, two sons and six daughters, of whom but two married. Twenty children I have had, and seven wives; three of these died and one left me and returned to her own people. But I shall take another bride this year, please God.'

'We Christians,' observed Fattuh, 'find one enough.'

'You may be right,' answered Hussein politely; 'yet I would take a new wife every year if I had the means.'

'We will find you a bride in Kebeisa,' said I.

Hussein weighed this suggestion.

'The maidens of Kebeisa are fair but wilful. There is one among them, her name is Shemsa—wallah, a picture! a picture she is!—she has had seven husbands.'

'And the maidens of Hit?' I asked. 'How are they?'

'Not so fair, but they are the better wives. That is why I choose to remain in Hit,' explained Hussein. 'The bimbashi would have sent me to Baghdad, but I said "No, let me stay here. The maidens of Hit do not expect much." Your Excellency may laugh, but a poor man must think of these things.'

We rode on through the aromatic scrub until the black masses of the Kebeisa palm groves resolved into tall trunks and feathery fronds. The sun stood high as we passed under the village gate and down the dusty street that led to the Mudir's compound. We tied our mares to some mangers in his courtyard and were ourselves ushered into his reception room, there to drink coffee and set forth our purpose. The leading citizens of Kebeisa dropped in one by one, and the talk was of the desert and of the dwellers therein. The men of Kebeisa are not 'Arab' Bedouin; they hold their mud-walled village and their 50,000 palm trees against the tribes, but they know the laws of the desert as well as the nomads themselves, and carry on an uneasy commerce with them in dates and other commodities, with which even the wilderness cannot dispense, the accredited methods of the merchant alternating with those of the raider and the avenger of raids. There was no lack of guides to take me to Khubbaz, for the ruin is the first stage upon the post road to Damascus, and half the male population was acquainted with that perilous way.

'It is the road of death,' said Hussein Onbashi, stuffing tobacco into the cup of his narghileh.

'Eh billah!' said one who laid the glowing charcoal atop. 'Eight days' ride, and the Government, look you, pays no more than fifteen mejidehs from Hit and back again.'

An old man, wrapped in a brown cloak edged with gold, took up the tale.

'The Government reckons fifteen mejidehs to be the price of a man's life. Wallah! If the water-skins leak between water and water, or if the camel fall lame, the rider perishes.'

'By the truth, it is the road of death,' repeated Hussein. 'Twice last year the Deleim robbed the mail and killed the bearer of it.'

I had by this time spread out Kiepert.

'Inform me,' said I, 'concerning the water.'

'Oh, lady,' said the old man, 'I rode with the mail for twenty years. An hour and a half from Kebeisa there is water at 'Ain Za'zu', and in four hours more there is water in the tank of Khubbaz after the winter, but this year there is none by reason of the lack of rain. Twelve hours from Khubbaz you shall reach Kasr 'Amej, which is another fortress like Khubbaz, but more ruined; and there is no water there. But eighteen hours farther you find water in the Wady Hauran, at Muheiwir.'

'Is there not a castle there?' I asked. Kiepert calls it the Castle of 'Aiwir.

'There is nought but rijm,' said he. Now rijm are the heaps of stones which the Arabs pile together for landmarks. 'And after nine hours more there is water at Ga'ra, and then no more till Dumeir, nine hours from Damascus.'

If this account is exact, there must be four days of waterless desert on the road of death.

The springs in Kebeisa are strongly charged with sulphur, but half-way between the town and the shrine of Sheikh Khudhr that lifts a conical spire out of the wilderness, there is a well less bitter, to which come the fair and wilful maidens night and morning, bearing on their heads jars of plaited willow, pitched without and within. We did not fill our water-skins there when we set out next day for Kasr Khubbaz, but rode on to 'Ain Za'zu' where the water is drinkable, though far from sweet. There are two other sulphurous springs, one a little to the north, and one to the south, round each of which, as at 'Ain Za'zu', the inhabitants of Kebeisa sow clover, the sole fodder of the oasis in rainless years like the winter of 1909. So said Fawwaz, the owner of the two camels on which we had placed our small packs. Fawwaz rode one of them and his nephew, Sfaga, the other, and they hung the dripping water-skins under the loads. We followed the course of a shallow valley westwards, and before we left it sighted a train of donkeys making to the north with an escort on foot—Arabs of the

Deleim; they looked harmless enough; but I afterwards found that they had caused Fawwaz great uneasiness; indeed they kept him watchful all through the night, fearing that they might raid us while we slept. I was too busy observing the wide landscape to dwell on such matters. The desolate, empty world stretched before us, lifting itself by shallow steps into long, bare ridges, on which the Arab *rjm* were visible for miles away. The first of these steps—it was not more than fifty feet high—was called the Jebel Muzahir, and when we had gained its summit we saw the Castle of Khubbaz lying out upon the plain. It is four-square, with round bastions at the angles and breaking the middle of the curtain wall, an arched doorway looking towards Kebeisa, and vaulted chambers set round the interior, leaving an open court in the centre. To the north the ground falls away into a wady, a shallow depression like all desert valleys, in which are traces of a large tank that caught the trickle of the winter springs and held their water behind a massive dam. The tank is now half full of soil and the dam leaks, so that as soon as the rains have ceased the water store vanishes. It had left behind it a scanty crop of grass and flowers, which seemed luxuriant to us in that dry season, and we turned the mares and camels loose in what Fattuh called enthusiastically the *rabi'a*, the herbage of spring, and pitched my light tent in the valley bottom, where my men could find shelter among the rocks against the chills of night. I left all these arrangements to Fattuh, and with Hussein and Fawwaz to hold the metre tape, measured and photographed the fort till the sun touched the western horizon. I do not doubt that it is of Arab workmanship, a relic of the great days of the khalifate, when the shortest road from Baghdad to Damascus was guarded by little companies of soldiers, holding the plains from Khubbaz and 'Amej, as the *zaptiehs* hold the Euphrates road to-day.

At the pleasant hour of dusk I sat among the flowering weeds by my tent door while Fattuh cooked our dinner in his kitchen among the rocks, Sfaga gathered a fuel of desert scrub, Fawwaz stirred the rice pot, and the bubbling of Hussein's *narghileh* gave a note of comfort to our bivouac. My table was a big stone, the mares cropping the ragged grass round the tent were my

dinner-party; one by one the stars shone out in a moonless heaven and our tiny encampment was wrapped in the immense silences of the desert, the vast and peaceful night. Next morning, as we rode back to Kebeisa, Fattuh and I, between intervals devoted to riding after gazelle, laid siege on our companions and persuaded them to accompany us in our further journey. Fawwaz avowed that he was satisfied with us and would come where we wished (and as for Sfaga he would do as he was told) as long as Hussein would give a semi-official sanction to the enterprise by his presence. It was more difficult to win over Hussein, who had received from the Mudir no permission to absent himself so long from Hit; but Fattuh pointed out that, when you have three wives, with the prospect of a fourth, to say nothing of six daughters of whom but two married, you cannot afford to throw away the prospect of an extra bakhshish. This reasoning was conclusive; and before we reached 'Ain Za'zu' we had settled everything, down to the quantity of coffee beans we would buy at Kebeisa for the trip. But when we got to Kebeisa we were greeted by news that went near to overturning our combinations. There had been alarums and excursions in our absence; the Deleim had attacked a party of fuel-gatherers two hours from Kebeisa in the very plain we were to cross, and had made off with eight donkeys. One of the donkeys belonged to Fawwaz; he shook his head over the baleful activity of the tribe and murmured that we were a small party in the face of such perils. Moreover, in the Mudir's courtyard there stood a half-starved mare which had been recaptured in a counter-raid from the seventh husband of the famous Shemsa. He too was of the Deleim. We gave the mare a feed of corn—her gentle, hungry eyes were turned appealingly on our full mangers; but to Shemsa I was harder hearted, though her eyes were more beautiful than those of the mare. She came suppliant as I sat dining on the Mudir's roof at nightfall and begged me to recover her husband's rifle, which lay below in the hands of the Government. Her straight brows were pencilled together with indigo and a short blue line marked the roundness of her white chin; a cloak slipped backwards from her head, showing the rows of scarlet beads about her throat, and as she drew it together with

slender fingers, Fattuh, Hussein, and I gazed on her with unmixed approval, in spite of the irregular course of her domestic history. But I felt that to return his rifle to a Deleimi robber was not part of my varied occupations, though who knows whether Shemsa's grace, backed by what few mejidehs she could scrape together, did not end by softening the purpose of Hussein and the Mudir, 'the Government,' as in veiled terms we spoke of them?

With the exercise of some diplomacy we induced Fawwaz to hold to his engagement, but the Mudir took fright when he heard of our intentions, and threatened our guides with dire retribution if they led us into the heart of the desert. I think the threat was only intended to relieve him of responsibility, for Hussein shrugged his shoulders, and said it would be enough if we rode an hour in the direction of Ramadi, on the Euphrates, and then changed our course and made straight for Abu Jir, an oasis where we expected to find Arab tents. We set off next morning in the clear sunlight that makes all projects seem entirely reasonable, and dropped, after three quarters of an hour, into a little depression with a sulphur marsh at the bottom. Here we altered our direction to the south-west and rode almost parallel to a long low ridge called the Ga'rat ej Jemal, which lay about three miles to the west of us. Four hours from Kebeisa we reached a tiny mound out of which rose a spring of water, sulphurous but just drinkable. The top of the mound was lifted only a few feet above the surrounding level, but that was enough to give us a wide view, and, since in all the world before us there was no shade or shelter from the sun, we sat down and lunched where we could be sure that a horseman could not approach us unawares. And as we rested, some one far away opened a bottle into which Solomon, Prophet of God, had sealed one of the jinn. Up sprang a gigantic column of smoke that fanned outwards in the still air and hung menacingly over the naked, empty plain. I waited spell-bound to see the great shoulders and huge horned head disengage themselves from the smoke wreaths that rolled higher and—

'Ain el 'Awasil burns,' said Fawwaz. 'A shepherd has set it alight.'

There was a small pitch-well an hour away to the south-east, and if springs that burn when the tinder



touches them are more logical than spirits that issue from a bottle when the seal is broken, then the explanation of Fawwaz may be accepted. But at that moment I could not stay to think the problem out, for if it was hot riding, sitting still was intolerable, and we were not anxious to linger when every half-hour's march meant half an hour of dangerous country behind us. From noon to sunset the desert is stripped of beauty. Hour after hour we journeyed on, while the bare forbidding hills drew away from us on the right, and the plain rolled out illimitable ahead. We saw no living creature, man or beast, but an hour from 'Ain el Asfuriyyeh, where we had lunched, we came upon a deep still pool in an outcrop of rock, the water sufficiently sweet to drink. This spot is called Zelib esh Sheikh; it contains several such pools, said Fawwaz, and added that the water had appeared there of a sudden two years before, but that now it never diminished, nor rose higher in the rocky clefts. Just beyond the pool we crossed the Wady Muhammadi, which stretched westwards to the receding ridges of the Gar'at ej Jemal and east to the Euphrates; it was dry and blotched with an evil-looking crust of sulphur. Fawwaz turned his camel's head a little to the east of south and began to look anxiously for landmarks. We hoped to find at Abu Jir an encampment of the Deleim, and, eagerly as we wished to avoid the scattered horsemen of the tribe by day, it was essential that we should pass the night near their tents. The desert is governed by old and well-defined laws, and the first of these is the law of hospitality. If we slept within the circuit of a sheikh's encampment he would be 'malzūm 'aleina'—responsible for us—and not one of his people would touch us; but if we lay out in the open we should court the attack of raiders and of thieves. Two hours from the Wady Muhammadi we reached a little tell, from the top of which we sighted the alama (the landmarks) of Abu Jir, a couple of high-piled mounds of stones. An hour later they lay to the east of us, and we saw still farther to the south-east the black line of tamarisk bushes that indicated the oasis. But it was another hour before we got up to it, and the sun was very low in the sky when we set foot on the hard black surface that gives the place its name. There was no time to lose, and



we embarked recklessly on the 'Father of Asphalt,' only to be caught in the fresh pitch that had been spread out upon the wilderness by streams of clear sulphurous water. We dismounted and led our animals over the quaking expanse, coasting round the head-waters of the springs—there are I believe eight of them—and experimenting in our own persons on half-congealed lakes of pitch before we allowed the camels to venture across them. The light faded while we were thus engaged, and seeing that too much caution might well be our undoing, I shouted to Fattuh to follow, and struck out boldly eastwards. Fattuh was half inclined to look upon our case as a result of premeditated treachery on the part of Fawwaz, but I had noted unmistakable signs of fear and bewilderment in the bearing of the latter, and at all hazards I was resolved not to sleep in a pool of tar. We made for a line of tamarisk bushes behind which lay a thin haze of smoke, and as we broke through the brushwood we beheld a black tent crouching in the hollow. We rode straight up to the door and gave the salaam.

'And upon you peace,' returned the astonished owner.

'What Arabs are you, and where is your sheikh's tent?' said I in an abrupt European manner.

He was taken aback at being asked so many questions and answered reluctantly, 'We are the Deleim, and the tent of Muhammad el 'Abdullah lies yonder.'

We turned away, and I whispered to Fattuh not to hasten, and above all to approach the sheikh's tent from in front lest we should be mistaken for such as come upon an evil errand. He fell behind me, and with as much dignity as a tired and dusty traveller can muster, I drew rein by the tent ropes and gave the salaam ceremoniously, with a hand lifted to breast and lip and brow. A group of men sitting by the hearth leapt to their feet and one came forward.

'Peace and kinship and welcome,' said he, laying his hand on my bridle.

I looked into his frank and merry face and knew that all was well.

'Are you Muhammad el 'Abdullah, for whom we seek?'

'Wallah, how is my name known to you?' said he. 'Be pleased to enter.'

Hussein Onbashi, when he appeared with the camels a quarter of an hour later, found a large company round the coffee-pots, listening in breathless wonder (I no less amazed than the rest) while the sheikh related the exploits of—a motor!

‘And then, oh lady, they wound a handle in front of the carriage, and lo, it moved without horses, eh billah! And it sped across the plain, we sitting on the cushions. And from behind there went forth semok.’ He brought out the English word triumphantly.

‘Allah, Allah!’ we murmured.

Hussein took from his lips the narghileh tube which was already between them and explained the mystery.

‘It was the automobile of Mister X. He journeyed from Aleppo to Baghdad in four days, and the last day Muhammad el ‘Abdullah went with him, for the road was through the country of the Deleim.’

‘I saw them start,’ said Fattuh the Aleppine. ‘But the automobile lies now broken in Baghdad.’

Muhammad paid no heed to this slur upon the reputation of the carriage.

‘White!’ he said. ‘It was all painted white. Wallah, the Arabs wondered as it fled past. And I was seated within upon the cushions.’

That night Fattuh and I held a short council. We had won successfully through a hazardous day, but it seemed less than wisdom to go farther without an Arab guide, and I proposed to add Muhammad el ‘Abdullah to our party, if he would come.

‘He will come,’ said Fattuh. ‘This sheikh is a man. And your Excellency is of the English.’

Muhammad neither demurred nor bargained. I think he would have accompanied me even if I had not belonged to the race that owned the carriage. Our adventure pleased him; he was one of those whose blood runs quicker than that of his fellows, whose fancy burns brighter, ‘whom thou, Melpomene, at birth . . .’: the muse spreads her clear light round many an unknown cradle.

‘But if we were to meet the raiders of the Beni Hassan?’ I asked, mindful of the unsuccessful parleyings at Hit.

‘God is great!’ replied Muhammad, ‘and we are four men with rifles.’

There was once a town at Abu Jir, guarded by a little square fort with bastioned angles like Kasr Khubbaz, though I doubt whether it is as ancient. All round the fort lay the foundations of houses, walls of large stones and crumbling mounds of sun-dried brick; there are similar ruins near a sulphur spring a mile or two to the west of Hit, and my impression is that both places mark the site of a medieval Arab settlement, a discovery sufficiently surprising at Abu Jir which now lies far beyond the limits of fixed habitation. The Deleim still turn the abundant water of the oasis to some profit, planting a few patches of corn and clover in the low ground below the ruins, but the insecurity of the desert forbids all permanent occupation. We had not gone far on our way next morning before Muhammad stopped short in the ode he was singing and bent down from his saddle to examine some hoof-prints in the sandy ground. Two horsemen had travelled that way, riding in the same direction that we were taking.

'Those are the mares of our enemies,' he observed.

'How do you know?' I asked.

'I heard that they had passed Abu Jir in the night,' he answered and resumed his song. When he had brought it to an end, he called out:

'Oh, lady, I will sing the ode that I composed about the carriage.'

At this the camel riders and Hussein drew near and Muhammad began the first qasidah that has been written to a motor.

'I tell a marvel the like of which no man has known,  
A glory of artifice born of English wit.'

'True, true!' ejaculated Fawwaz ecstatically.

'Eh billah!' exclaimed Hussein.

'Her food and her drink are the breath from a smoke  
cloud blown,

If her radiance fade bright fire shall reburnish it.'

'Allah, Allah!' cried the enraptured Fawwaz.

'On the desert levels she darts like a bird of prey,

Her race puts to shame a mare of the purest breed

As a hawk in the dusk that hovers and swoops to slay,

She swoops and turns with wondrous strength and  
speed.'

'Wallah, the truth!' Hussein's enthusiasm was uncontrollable.

'Eh wallah!' echoed Fawwaz and Sfaga.

'He who mounts and rides her sits on the throne of a king.'

'A king in very truth!' cried Fawwaz.

'If the goal be far, to her the remote is near.'

'Near indeed!' burst from the audience.

'More stealthy than stallions, more swift than the jinn  
awing,

She turns the gazelle that hides from her blast in  
fear.'

'Allah!' Fawwaz punctuated the stanza.

'Not from idle lips was gathered the wisdom I sing.'

'God forbid!' exclaimed Fawwaz, leaning forward eagerly.

'In the whole wide plain she has not met with her peer.'

'Mashallah! it is so! it is the truth, oh lady!' said Hussein.

'I did not quite understand it all,' said I humbly, feeling rather like Alice in Wonderland when Humpty Dumpty recited his verses to her. 'Perhaps you will help me to write it down this evening.'

So that night, with the assistance of Fawwaz, who had a bowing acquaintance with letters, we committed it to paper, and I now know how the masterpieces of the great singers were received at the fair of 'Ukaz in the Days of Ignorance:

'The truth! it is the truth!' shouted the tribes between each couplet. 'Eh by Al Lât and by Al 'Uzza!'

Three hours from Abu Jir we cantered down to the Wady Themail and saw some black tents pitched by a tell on the farther side. Flocks of goats were scattered over the plain; the shepherds, when they perceived our party, drew them together and began to drive them towards the tents. At this Muhammad pulled up, rose in his stirrups, and waved a long white cotton sleeve over his head—a flag of truce.

'They take us for raiders,' said he laughing. 'Wallah, in a moment we should have had their rifles upon us.'

The mound of Themail is crowned by a square fort built of mud and unshaped stones, rough Bedouin work, which I suspect has taken the place of older defences. A copious sulphur spring rises below it and flows into the corn-fields of the Deleim. With a supply of water so plentiful Themail must always have been a place worth holding. We stayed for an hour to lunch, Muhammad's kinsmen supplementing our fare with a bowl of sour curds. Fawwaz was all for spending the night here, for there would be no tents at 'Asileh where we meant to camp, and the noonday stillness was broken by a loud altercation between him and the indignant Fattuh. I paid no attention until the case was brought to me for decision—the final court of appeal should always be silent up to the moment when an opinion is requested—and then said that we should undoubtedly sleep at El 'Asileh.

'God guide us, God guard us, God protect us!' muttered Muhammad as he settled himself into the saddle. He never took the road without this pious ejaculation.

Four hours of weary desert lie between Themail and 'Asileh, but Muhammad diversified the way by pointing out the places where he had attacked and slain his enemies. These historic sites were numerous. The Deleim have no friends except the great tribe of the 'Anazeh, represented in these regions by the Amarat under Ibn Huththāl. To the 'Anazeh he always alluded as the Bedu, giving me their names for the different varieties of scanty desert scrub as well as the common titles. Even the place-names are not the same on the lips of the Bedu; for example El 'Asileh is known to them as Er Radaf.

'Are not the Deleim also Bedu?' I asked.

'Eh wah,' he assented. 'They intermarry with us. But we would not take a girl of the Afadleh; they are Agedat—base born.'

The friendship between the Amarat and the Deleim is intermittent at best, like all desert alliances. As we neared the Wady Burdan, Muhammad called our attention to some tamarisk bushes where he and his raiding party had lain one night in ambush, and at dawn killed four men of the Amarat and taken their mares.

'Eh billah!' said he with a sigh of satisfaction.

The very rifle he carried had been taken in a raid from Ibn er Rashid's people. He showed me with pride that the name of 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn er Rashid, lately Lord of Nejd, was scratched upon it in large clear letters.

'I did not take it from them,' he explained. 'I found it in the hands of one of the Beni Hassan.' I fell to wondering how many midnight attacks it had seen, and how many masters it had served since Ibn er Rashid's agents brought it up from the Persian Gulf.

The Wady Burdan is one of three valleys that are reputed to stretch across the Syrian desert from the Jebel Hauran to the Euphrates. The northernmost is the Wady Hauran, which joins the river above Hit, and the southernmost the Wady Lebay'a on which stands Kheidhar. When the snow melts on the Hauran mountains water flows down all three, so I have heard, but later in the year there is no water in the Wady Burdan, except at 'Asileh, though Kiepert marks it 'quellenreich.' Muhammad declared that there was no permanent water west of 'Asileh save at Wizeh, a spring which has often been described to me. It rises underground, and you approach it by a long passage through the rock, taking with you a lantern, my informants are careful to add. At the end of the passage you come to a shallow pool where the mud predominates, though it is always possible to quench your thirst at it. 'Asileh is an autumn camping ground of the 'Anazeh. The deep fine sand of the valley is bordered by a fringe of tamarisk bushes covered, when we were there, with feathery white flower. The roots strike down into the water, which rises into cup-shaped holes scooped out in the sand, and the deeper you dig the clearer and the colder it is. For four days we had found no water that was sweet, and the pools under the tamarisk bushes tasted like nectar. It was a delightful solitary camp. The setting sun threw a magic cloak of colour and soft shadows over the sandhills of the Wady Burdan, and under the starlight my companions lingered round the camp fire, smoking a narghileh and telling each other wondrous tales. When I joined them Fattuh was holding forth upon the evil eye, a favourite topic with him. I knew by heart the tragedy of his three horses who died in one day because an acquaintance had looked at them in their stable.

'And if your Excellency doubts,' said Fattuh, 'I can tell you that there is a man well known in Aleppo who has one good eye and one evil. And this he keeps bound under a kerchief. And one day when he was sitting in the house of friends they said to him, "Why do you bind up the left eye." He said, "It is an evil eye." Then they said, "If you were to take off the kerchief and look at the lamp hanging from the roof, would it fall?" "Without doubt," said he; and with that he unbound the kerchief and looked, and the lamp fell to the ground.'

'Allah!' said Fawwaz, 'There is a man at Kebeisa who has never dared to look at his own son.'

'At 'Ana,' observed Hussein, letting the narghileh relapse into silence for a moment, 'there is a sheikh who wears a charm against bullets.'

But Muhammed knew as much as most men about the ways of bullets, and he thought nothing of this expedient.

'Whether the bullet hits or misses,' he remarked, 'it is all from God.' He poured me out a cup of coffee: 'A double health, oh lady,' said he.

The sun had not risen when we left 'Asileh, but it fell upon us as we climbed the sandhills, and gave to every little thorny plant a long trail of shadow.

'God guide us, God guard us, God protect us!' murmured Muhammad.

The desert was unbearably monotonous that morning. The ground rose gradually, level above level in an almost imperceptible slope which was just enough to prevent us from seeing more than a quarter of an hour ahead. A dozen times I marked a bush on the top of the rise and promised myself that when we reached it we should have a wider prospect; a dozen times the summit melted away into another slope as featureless as the last. We were journeying in a south-easterly direction, straight into the sun, and as I rode, with eyes downcast to avoid the glare, I noticed that the ground was strewn with yellow gourds larger than an orange.

'It is hanzal,' said Muhammad. 'It grows only where the plain is very dry, and best in rainless years. Wallah, so bitter is the fruit that, if you hold dates in your hand and crush the hanzal with your foot, they



say you cannot eat the dates for the flavour of the hanzal. God knows.'

His words set loose a host of memories, for though I had never before seen the bitter colocynth gourds, the greatsingers of the desert have drawn many an image from them, and I drifted back through their world of heroic loves and wars to where Imr ul Qais stood weeping, as though he had rubbed his eyelids with the acrid juice.

Five hours from 'Asileh we dipped into the Wady ul 'Asibiyyeh where the marshy bottom still bore footprints of horses and camels that had come down to drink before the pools had vanished. A steep bank on the south side gave us a rim of shadow in which we stretched ourselves and lunched, and from the top of the bank we sighted the palm trees of Rahhaliyyeh, an hour and a half to the south; we had seen them three hours earlier from the summit of a little mound and then lost them again. The oasis is surrounded by stagnant pools that lie rotting in the sun; at the end of the summer the evil vapours marry with the fresh dates, with which the inhabitants are surfeited, and breed a horrible fever that will kill a strong man in a few hours. The air was heavy with the rank smell of the marsh, and I warned my people to drink no water but that which we had brought with us from the clear pools of 'Asileh. There are sixteen thousand palm trees at Rahhaliyyeh and, buried in their midst, a village governed by a Mudir, to whom I hastened to pay my respects. He gave me glasses of tea while my tent was being pitched—may God reward him! We camped that night in a palm garden, where we were entertained by a troop of musicians playing on drums and a double flute, to which music one of them danced between the sun and shade of the palm fronds. Their faces were those of negroes, though they had the clear yellow skin of the Arab, and I noticed that most of the population of Rahhaliyyeh was of this type. 'They have always been here,' said Hussein contemptuously, 'they and the frogs.' In spite of the flickering shade of the palm trees it was stifling hot, and I looked with regret over the broken mud wall of our garden into the clean stretches of the open desert. But the splendours of the sunset glowed between the palm trunks; in matchless beauty a crescent moon hung among the dark fronds,



and we lay down to sleep with the contentment of those who have come safely out of perilous ways.

The Mudir had given me useful information concerning some ruins that lie between Rahhaliyyeh and Shefatha. Next day I sent Fattuh and the camels direct to the second oasis and, taking with me Hussein and Muhammad, with a boy for guide, set out to explore the site of an ancient city. Fawwaz objected loudly to this arrangement; and on reflection I am inclined to think that we overrated the security of the road, though no harm came of it. About an hour to the south of Rahhaliyyeh, on the northern edge of low-lying marshy ground, rich in springs, stands the shrine of Sayyed Ahmed ibn Hashim, and near it to the north and west are vestiges of what must have been a large town. We followed for at least a quarter of a mile the foundations of a fine masonry wall, 150 centimetres thick. Between this wall and the low ground the surface of the plain is broken by innumerable mounds and heaps of stone; here, said the boy, after rain, the women of the two oases find gold ornaments and pictured stones. I saw and bought some of the pictured stones at Shefatha; they are Assyrian cylindrical seals; but without knowing in what quantities and with what other objects they appear it would be rash to decide that the site is as old. There was undoubtedly a medieval Arab city there; all the ground was strewn with fragments of Arab coloured pottery, and at the western limit of the ruin field there are remains of the usual four-square fort; Murrat is its present name. It is built of uncut stone and unburnt brick; the doorway in the north wall is covered with a flattened pointed arch that suggests the thirteenth century or thereabouts. My own belief is that the town to which this castle belonged stood on the site of an older city, and I place here 'Ain et Tamr, an oasis that was famous in the days of the Persian kings. Yakut describes it as having lain near Shefatha, and observes that Khalid ibn al Walid took and sacked it in the year 12 A.H., but he says nothing about a later town on the same spot, to which the evidence of the ruins points. Perhaps it was absorbed in Shefatha.

The interest of these speculations had caused me to forget that we were still in the desert. Our guide caught

us up at Murrat, whither we had galloped recklessly, and explained that he had had some difficulty in allaying the fears of a small encampment of the Amarat half hidden in the valley. The men, seeing us hurrying past, had taken us for robbers and were preparing to shoot at us. At a soberer pace we turned back along the valley. It was marshy in places, intersected by little streams from the springs, and covered with a white crust of salts—*sabkha* the Arabs call such regions—on which nothing grew but a malignant looking thorny shrub, the *thelleth*, useless to man and beast. The water of the springs was 'heavy,' Muhammad told me, like the water of *Rahhaliyyeh*. Half an hour's ride down the valley we crossed the *Rahhaliyyeh-Shefatha* road at a point where there were traces of good masonry. Another half-hour ahead stood the mound of Bardawil, our objective. Being in good spirits we devoted the interval to song. Muhammad gave us his ode to the motor, and I obliged with 'God save the King,' translated into indifferent Arabic for the benefit of the audience.

'The words are good,' said Muhammad politely, 'but I do not care about the air.'

So we came to Bardawil, a striking tell with an oval fortress standing upon it. There had been at least three storeys of vaulted rooms lifting the strange tower-like structure high above the level of the desert. It suggests a watch-tower guarding the eastern approaches to the city, but that the present edifice is earlier than the Mohammedan period, I do not believe. Having photographed and planned it, we dismissed our guide, whose services we no longer needed, and set out over broken *sabkha* in the direction of Shefatha. We were jogging along between hummocks of thorn and scrub, Muhammad as usual singing, when suddenly he broke off at the end of a couplet and said :

'I see a horseman riding in haste.'

I looked up and saw a man galloping towards us along the top of a ridge; he was followed closely by another and yet another, and all three disappeared as they dipped down from the high ground. In the desert every new-comer is an enemy till you know him to be a friend. Muhammad slipped a cartridge into his rifle, Hussein extracted his riding-stick from the barrel, where it com-

monly travelled, and I took a revolver out of the holster. This done, Muhammad galloped forward to the top of a mound, I followed, and we watched together the advance of the three who were rapidly diminishing the space that lay between us. Muhammad jumped to the ground and threw me his bridle.

'Dismount,' said he, 'and hold my mare.'

I took the two mares in one hand and the revolver in the other. Hussein had lined up beside me, and we two stood perfectly still while Muhammad advanced, rifle in hand, his body bent forward in an attitude of strained watchfulness. He walked slowly, alert and cautious, like a prowling animal. The three were armed. If, when they reached the top of the ridge in front of us, they lifted their rifles, Hussein and I would have time to shoot first while they steadied their mares. Our thoughts had run out towards the possibility of an encounter with the Beni Hassan, blood enemies of our companion. The three riders topped the ridge, and as soon as we could see their faces Muhammad gave the salaam; they returned it, and with one accord we all stood at ease. For if men give and take the salaam when they are near enough to see each other's faces, there cannot, according to the custom of the desert, be any danger of attack. The authors of this picturesque episode turned out to be three men from Rahhaliyyeh. One of them had lent a rifle to the boy who had guided us and, repenting of his confidence, had come after him to make sure that he did not make off with it. We pointed out the direction in which he had gone and turned our horses' heads once more in the direction of Shefatha.

'Lady,' said Muhammad reflectively, 'in the day of raids I do not trust my mare to the son of my uncle and not to my own brother, lest they should see the foe and fear, and ride away. But to you I gave her because I know that the heart of the English is strong. They do not flee.'

'Wallah,' said I, 'are we not also lords of raid?'

The incident led to some curious talk concerning the rules that govern desert wars. You do not invariably raid to kill; on the contrary, you desire, as far as possible, to avoid bloodshed, with all its tiresome and dangerous consequences of feud.

'Many a day,' explained Muhammad, 'we are out only to rob. Then if we meet a few horsemen who try to escape from us, we pursue, crying, "Your mount, lad!" And if they surrender and deliver to us their mares, their lives are safe, even if they should prove to be blood enemies.'

It is usual to make light of the courage called forth by Arab warfare, and I do not think that the mortality is, as a rule, high; but I have on one or two occasions found myself with an Arab guide under conditions that might have proved awkward, and I have never yet seen him give signs of fear. It is only to town-dwellers like Fawwaz that the wilderness is beset with terrors.

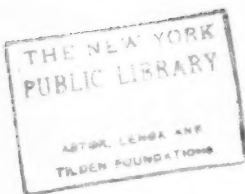
Shefatha is an oasis of 160,000 palms. The number is rapidly diminishing, and on every side there are groups of headless trunks from which the water has been turned off. This is owing to the iniquitous exactions of the tax-gatherers, who levy three and four times in the year the moneys due from each tree, so that the profits on the fruit vanish, and even turn to loss. The springs are sulphurous, but very abundant. The palm trees rise from a bed of corn and clover; willows and pomegranates edge the irrigation streams, and birds nest and sing in the thickets. To us, who had dropped out of the deserts of the Euphrates, it seemed a paradise. The glimmering weirs, the sheen of up-turned willow leaves, the crinkled beauty of opening pomegranate buds were so many marvels embraced in the recurring miracle of spring that grows in wonder year by year.

Through these enchanted groves we rode from our camp to the Castle of Sham'un, the citadel of the oasis. Its great walls, battered and very ancient, tower above the palm trees, and within their circuit nestles a whole village of mud-built houses. There is an arched gateway to the north, but the largest fragment of masonry lies to the east, a massive shapeless wall of stone and unburnt bricks, seamed from top to bottom by a deep fissure, which the khalif, 'Ali Abu Talib, said my guide, made with a single sword cut. Among the houses there are many vestiges of old foundations, and a few vaulted chambers, now considerably below the level of the soil. It was impossible to plan the place in its present state; I can only be sure that it was square with bastioned



PALACE FROM WITHOUT.

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corners. My impression is that it is pre-Mohammedan, repaired by the conquerors, and local tradition, to which, however, it would be unwise to attach much value, bears out this view. Possibly Sham'un was the main fortress of 'Ain et Tamr.

At Shefatha I parted from Hussein, Muhammad, and the camel riders. Kheidhar was reported to be four hours away, a little to the south of the Kerbela road. The Qaimmaqam could supply me with two zaptiehs, and Fattuh had hired a couple of mules to carry our diminished packs. The four men intended to travel back together, making a long day from Rahhaliyyeh to Themail so as to avoid a night in the open desert. They started next morning in good heart, fortified by presents of quinine, a much prized gift, and other more substantial rewards. Muhammad would gladly have come with us to Kerbela, but we remembered the Beni Hassan and decided that it would be wiser for him to turn back, though before he left we had laid plans for a longer and a more adventurous journey to be undertaken another year, please God! We had not gone more than an hour from Shefatha before we met a company of the Beni Hassan coming in to the oasis for dates, a troop of lean and ragged men driving donkeys. They asked us anxiously whether we had seen any of the Deleim at Shefatha.

'No, wallah!' said Fattuh with perfect assurance, and I laughed, knowing that Muhammad was well on his way to Rahhaliyyeh.

We had ridden to the south-east for about three hours, through a most uncompromising wilderness, when, in the glare ahead, we caught sight of a great mass which I took for a natural feature in the landscape. But as we approached its shape became more and more definite, and I asked one of the zaptiehs what it was.

'It is Kheidhar,' said he.

'Yallah, Fattuh, bring on the mules,' I shouted, and galloped forward.

Of all the wonderful experiences that have fallen my way, the first sight of Kheidhar is the most memorable. It reared its mighty walls out of the sand, almost untouched by time, breaking the long lines of the waste with its huge towers, steadfast and massive, as though it

were, as I had at first thought it, the work of nature, not of man. We approached it from the north, on which side a long low building runs out towards the sandy depression of the Wady Lebay'a. A zaptieh caught me up as I reached the first of the vaulted rooms, and out of the northern gateway a man in long robes of white and black came trailing down towards us through the hot silence.

'Peace be upon you,' said he.

'And upon you peace, Sheikh 'Ali,' returned the zaptieh. 'This lady is of the English.'

'Welcome, my lady khan,' said the sheikh; 'be pleased to enter and to rest.'

He led me through a short passage and under a tiny dome. I was aware of immense corridors opening on either hand, but we passed on into a great vaulted hall where the Arabs sat round the ashes of a fire.

'My lady khan,' said Sheikh 'Ali, 'this is the Castle of Nu'man ibn Munthir.'

I intend to publish a detailed study of the Castle of Kheidhar—the name is the colloquial abbreviation of Ukheidhar, which means nothing more than a small green place, i.e. an oasis; but I may here take occasion to say that I doubt whether local tradition is right in ascribing it to the Lakhmid princes.\* There is no question but that it is the work of Persian builders; the affinities between it and some of the Sassanian palaces, notably Kasr-i-Shirin, are conclusive on that point; but it is more difficult to determine whether it was constructed before or after the Mohammedan invasion. In

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\* When I returned to England I found that Kheidhar had been visited the preceding year by M. Louis Massignon, and that a ground plan, not very accurate in detail, had been published by him during my absence. ('Gazette des Beaux Arts,' April 1909, and 'Bulletin de l'Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres,' March 1909, p. 202.) His survey did not include the annex to the north (probably stables and cattle sheds), nor has he given plans of the two upper storeys of the palace. My thanks are due to Mr Watts, a member of Sir William Willcock's irrigation survey; he spent a few hours at Kheidhar while I was there, and was so kind as to take the big outer measurements of the enclosing walls and the interior court. When I had finished the plotting of the whole, I found that I had come within 30 centimetres of his calculations, so that the errors in the plan cannot be great. The plans will appear in an article on the vaulting system of the castle, which will be published in the next number of the 'Journal of the Hellenic Society.'





PALACE FROM WITHIN.

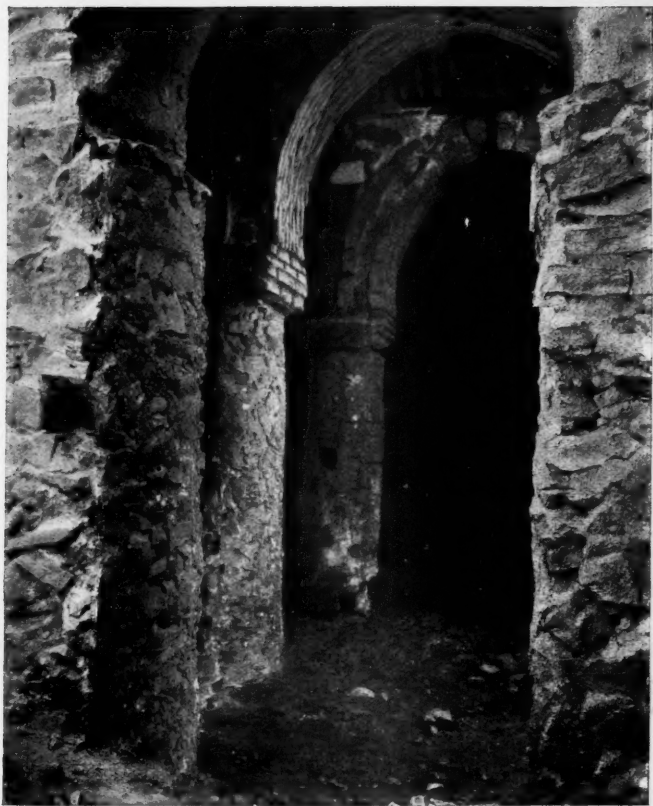
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the first case its original owner would have been one of later Lakhmid princes allied to the Sassanian kings, or else the Persian satrap who took the place of the house of Nu'man ibn Munthir during the years that immediately preceded the downfall of the lords of Ctesiphon; but if the second alternative be correct, Kheidhar must have been built by Persian artificers for one of the early khalifs. I incline to this opinion. There is a growing body of evidence to prove that the Umayyad khalifs were addicted to such resorts, where they could shake off, remote from prying eyes, the strict yoke of Islam. On the west side of the Syrian desert they employed Syrian workmen to build and decorate these hunting palaces; on the east side they could naturally have recourse to Persians, for it must be remembered that the invaders brought no arts with them except the art of verse. Certain structural features of Kheidhar are hard to reconcile with a date in the Sassanian period. The chief of these are the groined vaults in the passages and over the central chamber in the east annex within the court. They point to a certain amount of Syrian influence which is more easily explicable under the khalifs than under the Chosroes. It is of great significance that the architect did not venture to set a dome on columns. The two-columned chambers in the central block of the palace, where a dome might be expected, are covered with three parallel barrel vaults. Skilful as were the builders in the construction of vaults—the span of the great hall is ten metres, and the vault is of brick, laid on the same principle as the famous Ctesiphon vault that spans 25·80 metres—they were very cautious in the matter of domes. The sole example is the dome within the north door, which covers a space of 2·80 × 3·20 metres and is set on corbels. It is instructive to compare these meagre dimensions with those of the Sassanian domes of Firuzabad and Sarvistan, both covering a chamber some 16 metres square, which are set on squinch arches. All the walls are plastered with stucco within and without, and in some places there are remains of stucco ornament. The part of the building that adjoins the north wall has two upper storeys, the uppermost of which is considerably ruined. On a level with it is the *chemin de ronde* running along the top of the outer walls; it is completely

preserved on the east side and interrupted only by short ruined spaces on the other three sides. The stairs in the corner towers leading up on to it are all destroyed, but we climbed up over the ruins of the gates. To the north-east of the castle there is a small detached building which the Arabs call the bath; they assured me that brackish water can be got by digging in the sand close to it. There is a mound here which may mark the site of some other structure now fallen, otherwise there are no traces of ruins round the castle except some vestiges of a wall or water channel connecting the main building with the Wady Lebay'a. Excellent sweet water is always to be got by digging in the valley, and in winter a stream runs down it. I saw no appliances for storing water within the castle, though in all probability they exist; there is a brackish well, scarcely drinkable, in the court. Under some portions of the palace are vaulted substructures now much ruined, but the need of underground chambers in which to shelter during the summer heats is not felt at Kheidhar, the roofs and walls being so massive that the rooms are always cool. There are curious devices in the vaulting for protection against the heat. The annex in the east part of the court is a later addition, and so, in all probability, are the outhouses to the north, but both belong to the same architectural period as the rest of the building.

A very short survey made it clear that Kheidhar could not be planned in a day. We had exhausted our small stock of provisions, and the materials necessary for carrying out so large a piece of work were at Kerbela with the caravan. Fattuh disposed of the difficulties at once by declaring that he intended to ride into Kerbela that night and bring out the caravan next day. Fattuh yearned for the sight of the baggage horses, and for my part I longed for a bed and for a table more than I could have thought it possible. I was weary of sleeping on the stony face of the desert, of sitting in the dust and eating my meals with a sauce of sand—so infirm is feminine endurance. An Arab called Ghanim, clean-limbed and spare, like all his half-fed tribe, offered himself as guide, and 'Ali assured us that he knew every inch of the way. But when the zaptiehs heard that one of them was to accompany the expedition they turned white with fear.



COLUMNED CHAMBER.

[To face page 364.



To ride through the desert at night, they declared, was a venture from which no man was likely to come out alive. I hesitated—it requires much courage to face risks for others—but Fattuh stood firm, 'Ali laughed, and the thought of the bed carried the day. They started at eight in the evening, and I watched them disappear across the sands with some sinking of heart. All next day I was too well occupied to give them much thought, but when six o'clock came and 'Ali set watchers upon the castle walls, I began to feel anxious. Half an hour later Ma'ashi, the sheikh's brother, and my particular friend, came running down to my tent.

'Praise God! my lady khan, they are here.'

The Arabs gathered round to offer their congratulations, and Fattuh rode in, grey with fatigue and dust, the caravan at his heels. He had reached Kerbela at five in the morning, found the muleteers, bought provisions, loaded the animals, and set off again about ten.

'And the oranges are good in Kerbela,' he ended triumphantly. 'I have brought your Excellency a whole bag of them.'

It was a fine performance.

The Arabs who inhabited Kheidhar had come there two years before from Jof in Nejd: 'Because we were vexed with the government of Ibn er Rashid,' explained 'Ali, and I readily understood that his could not be a soothing rule. The wooden howdahs in which the women had travelled blocked one of the long corridors, and some twenty families lodged upon the ground in the vaulted chambers of princes. They lived and starved and died in this most splendid memorial of their own civilisation, and even in decay Kheidhar offered a shelter more than sufficient for their needs to the race at whose command it had been reared. Their presence was an essential part of its proud decline. The sheikh and his brothers passed like ghosts along the passages, they trailed their white robes down the stairways that led to the high chambers where they lived with their women, and at night they gathered round the hearth in the great hall, where their forefathers had beguiled the hours with tale and song in the same rolling tongue of Nejd. Then they would pile up the desert scrub till the embers glowed under the coffee-pots, while Ma'ashi handed round the delicious

bitter draught which was the one luxury left to them. The thorns crackled, a couple of oil wicks placed in holes above the columns, which had been contrived for them by the men-at-arms of old, sent a feeble ray into the darkness, and Ghanim took the rebaba and drew from its single string a wailing melody to which he chanted the stories of his race.

'My lady khan, this is the song of 'Abd ul 'Aziz ibn er Rashid.'

He sang of a prince great and powerful, patron of poets, leader of raids, and recently overwhelmed and slain in battle; but old or new, the songs were all pages out of the same chronicle, the undated chronicle of the nomad. The thin melancholy music rose up into the blackness of the vault; across the opening at the end of the hall, where the wall had fallen in part away, was spread the deep still night and the unchanging beauty of the stars.

'My lady khan,' said Ghanim, 'I will sing you the song of Ukheidhar.'

But I said, 'Listen to the verse of Ukheidhar':

'We wither away but they wane not, the stars that above us rise;

And the mountains remain after us, and the strong towers.'

'Allah!' murmured the Ma'ashi, as he swept noiselessly round the circle with the coffee cups, and once again Lebid's noble couplet held the company, as it had held those who sat in the banqueting hall of the khalif.

One night I was provided with a different entertainment. I had worked from sunrise till dark and was too tired to sleep. The desert was as still as death; infinitely mysterious, it stretched away from my camp and I lay watching the empty sands as one who watches for a pageant. Suddenly a bullet whizzed over the tent and the crack of a rifle broke the silence. All my men jumped up; a couple more shots rang out, and Fattuh hastily disposed the muleteers round the tents and hurried off to join a band of Arabs who had streamed from the castle gate. I picked up a revolver and went out to see them go. In a minute or two they had vanished under the uncertain light of the moon, which seems so clear and yet discloses so little. A zaptieh joined me and we





DETAIL OF OUTER WALLS.



DETAIL OF SOUTH FAÇADE OF PALACE.

[To face page 366.]

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stood still listening. Far out in the desert the red flash of rifles cut through the white moonlight; again the quick flare and then again silence. At last through the night drifted the sound of a wild song, faint and far away, rhythmic, elemental as the night and the desert. I waited in complete uncertainty as to what was approaching, and it was not until they were close upon us that we recognised our own Arabs and Fattuh in their midst. They came on, still singing, with their rifles over their shoulders; their white garments gleamed under the moon; they wore no kerchiefs upon their heads, and their black hair fell in curls about their faces.

'Ma'ashi,' I cried, 'what happened?'

Ma'ashi shook his hair out of his eyes.

'There is nothing, my lady khan. 'Ali saw some men lurking in the desert at the 'asr [the hour of afternoon prayer] and we watched after dark from the walls.'

'They were raiders of the Beni Dhafi'a,' said Ghanim, mentioning a particular lawless tribe.

'Fattuh,' said I, 'did you shoot?'

'We shot,' replied Fattuh—'did not your Excellency hear?—and one man is wounded.'

A wild-looking boy held out his hand, on which I detected a tiny scratch.

'There is no harm,' said I. 'Praise God!'

'Praise God!' they repeated, and I left them laughing and talking eagerly, and went to bed and to sleep.

Next morning I questioned Fattuh as to the events of the night, but he was exceptionally non-committal.

'My lady,' said he, 'God knows. 'Ali says that they were men of the Beni Dhafi'a.' Then with a burst of confidence he added, 'But I saw no one.'

'At whom did you shoot?' said I in bewilderment.

'At the Beni Dhafi'a,' answered Fattuh, surprised at the stupidity of the question.

I gave it up, neither do I know to this hour whether we were or were not raided in the night.

Two days later my plan was finished. I had turned one of the vaulted rooms of the stable into a workshop, and spreading a couple of waterproof sheets on the sand for table, had drawn it out to scale lying on the ground. Sometimes an Arab came in silently and stood watching my pencil, until the superior attractions of

the next chamber, in which sat the muleteers and the zaptiehs, drew him away. As I added up metres and centimetres I could hear them spinning long yarns of city and desert. Occasionally Ma'ashi brought me coffee.

'God give you the reward,' said I.

'And your reward,' he answered. 'Only the daughter of kings could write such a picture.'

The day we left Kheidhar, the desert was wrapped in the stifling dust of a west wind. I have no notion what the country is like through which we rode for seven hours to Kerbela, and no memory, save that of the castle walls fading like a dream into the haze, of a bare ridge of hill to our right hand and the bitter waves of a salt lake to our left, and of deep sand through which we were driven by a wind that was the very breath of the Pit. Then out of the mist loomed the golden dome of the shrine of Hussein, upon whom be peace, and few pious pilgrims were gladder than I when we stopped to drink a glass of tea at the first Persian tea-shop of the holy city.

GERTRUDE LOWTHIAN BELL.

Art. 3.—EARLY WELSH POETRY. ✓

1. *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards, translated into English, etc.* By Evan Evans. London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1764.
2. *The Four Ancient Books of Wales.* By W. F. Skene. Two vols. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868.
3. *The Literature of the Kymry.* By Thomas Stephens. Second edition. London: Longmans, 1876.
4. *The Black Book of Carmarthen.* Reproduced and edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, M.A., D.Litt. Printed at the Editor's Private Press, 1907.

THE early singers of no other race, perhaps, enjoy a renown so tantalisingly disproportionate to what is known of their actual work and personal history as the ancient bards of the Kymry. Taliesin, Aneirin, Llywarch the Old, Merlin, and the rest, are, to the average English reader of poetry, but so many fantastic and fabulous names. Even to the mass of their own countrymen in Wales, one fears, they are not much more. The most famous of them by name, 'the sage enchanter Merlin,' who cuts so brave a figure in the medieval literature of wizardry, is the most difficult among them all to identify and accredit as a poet. To the modern world Merlin is all but a creature of pure myth—an alleged bard of the sixth century, who, transformed into a prophet and a magician, comes to be imported into the Arthurian legends to lend the necessary touch of weird mystery to the story of Arthur's birth. The 'great Taliesin,' again, whom Gray invokes to hear, 'out of the grave,' strains that 'breathe a soul to animate his clay,' has left behind him few, if any, songs in which we can be sure that we hear his own authentic strains. Aneirin has fared somewhat better at the hand of time, and of the critics; a celebrated elegiac poem is, with some confidence, ascribed to him. Yet, scanty and insecure though the evidence is which enables us to regard these men as bards of the sixth century at all, the traditions of 'the bardic order' in Wales extend further back even than their era. For the group of bards of which Taliesin

is the fabled head are alleged to have inherited their poetic art and craft from the nameless Druids of pre-Roman Britain. Whatever the truth about the poetry of the Druids may be, their right to a place in the temple of Fame is certainly indefeasible, for Roman historians of the first repute bear testimony to their prestige and power among the ancient Celts. So well established, indeed, is their renown that they have been admitted even to the Comtist Calendar, where, with Ossian—another spirit called out of the vasty deeps of Celtic tradition—they figure among the primitive heroes of 'theocratic civilisation.'

The religious culture of the Druids has been the subject of much ingenious, and not unfruitful, speculation. Their alleged proficiency in the art of poetry has been no less eagerly, though, perhaps, not quite so dispassionately and profitably debated. A persistent tradition, dating back to a very early time, includes poetical inspiration among the gifts of the Druids. When Milton, in 'Lycidas,' reproaches the Muses for having deserted their playground

'on the steep

Where your old bards, the famous Druids, lie,'

he is echoing a traditional association which is at least as old as Lucan.\* Milton, indeed, has much to answer for on the score of this familiar line. It contributed as much as, if not more than, anything else to the use, in the eighteenth century, of the term 'druid' as a synonym for poet or bard. The mid-eighteenth century poets, especially those who deliberately imitated Milton, discovered in 'druid' a word full of a vague romantic charm. Hence even James Thomson, who had so unromantic a conceit of his outward appearance, at least, as to describe himself as 'more fat than bard beseems,' is dignified by Collins with this name in the well-known elegy beginning

'In yonder grave a Druid lies.'

Mason, in his dramatic poem 'Caractacus' (1759), makes a

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\* The passage in the 'Pharsalia' (book i, 447 *seq.*), in which the Bards and the Druids are linked together, is well known.

Druid the choragus of a band of British bards; while Cowper, in his 'Table Talk,' desiring to emphasise how

'A terrible sagacity informs  
The poet's heart,'

tells us unhesitatingly that not only

'in a Roman mouth the graceful name  
Of prophet and of poet was the same,'

but that

'British poets, too, the priesthood shared,  
And every hallowed Druid was a bard.'

Poetic usage dies hard; and, in modern times, so unconventional a singer as Browning cannot help making the Druid both bard and priest, as when, in 'The Two Poets of Croisie,' he says:

'boys from door to door  
Sing unintelligible words to tunes  
As obsolete; "scraps of Druidic lore,"  
Sigh scholars, as each pale man importunes  
Vainly the mumbling to speak plain once more.'

When all is told, however, modern scholarship will have it that no single 'scrap of Druidic lore' in poetry has come down to us, and that we possess no authentic evidence whatever of the bardic culture of the Druids. 'There is no proof,' say the authors of 'The Welsh People,'\* 'of any formal connexion between the Druidic priesthood and the bardic system as it appears in Wales in the twelfth century.' And it is to the twelfth century that those MSS. belong which furnish us with our first considerable body of authentic remains of the early poetry of the Kymry.

'In the twelfth century,' wrote Matthew Arnold long ago,† 'there began for Wales, along with another burst of national life, another burst of poetry; and this burst *literary* in the stricter sense of the word—a burst which left, for the first time, written records. It wrote the records of its predecessors, as well as of itself.' These records, he continues, 'touch that primitive world of which they profess to be the voice,' and the true critic is not he

\* By Sir John Rhys and Sir D. Brynmor-Jones (first ed., p. 255).

† 'On the Study of Celtic Literature' (1867).

who, 'like Mr Nash,\* wants to make the twelfth century the real author of the whole poetry, one may say, of the sixth century as well as of its own,' but he who 'can detect that precious and genuine part in' these documents which touches the primitive Celtic world. Modern Welsh scholarship has done much to show that even Nash, 'the ablest disparager,' as Arnold calls him, of the antiquity of Welsh bardic remains, was not altogether a wrong-headed critic. Many so-called sixth century productions, especially the mythological poems associated with the name of Taliesin, have been indisputably proved to be of comparatively late origin. But, even when all that is either obviously, or presumably, spurious has been cleared away from these poems, there remains much that points to a very remote antiquity. Most historians find in the sixth and seventh centuries alone conditions that would adequately account for such an outburst of bardic song.

It is impossible, at any rate, to ignore—as a starting-point to any investigation—the list of great bardic names so long and so confidently dated to that period. Even in the Chronicle attributed to Nennius, which cannot have been compiled later than the first quarter of the ninth century, we read that, about the year 550 of our era, 'Talhaearn, Aneirin, Taliesin, Bluchbard, and Cian were famous in British poetry.' 'Bluchbard' is a name that has baffled the most ingenious critics, but the others are sufficiently familiar to prevent any difficulty about including them in the authentic bardic roll. English poets, fascinated by certain high-sounding names, have indeed taken some liberties with the bardic records, for not every Welsh name which, even under the most honourable auspices, has been admitted to the calendar of the Muses is entitled to that distinction. When Gray, for example, makes his 'Bard' lament,

'Cold is Cadwallo's tongue  
That hush'd the stormy main;  
Brave Urien sleeps upon his craggy bed;  
Mountains, ye mourn in vain  
Modred, whose magic song  
Made huge Plinlimmon bow his cloud-topp'd head,'

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\* The late D. W. Nash, author of 'Taliesin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain' (1858), a volume distinguished by much knowledge and critical acuteness, whose excessive iconoclasm is subjected by Arnold to some characteristic raillery.



he goes beyond the limits of all poetic license in his use of traditional names. None of the three British worthies here celebrated is known to have had any repute as a poet. Gray, probably, was confused by the data furnished to him by his Welsh informant or informants, and not only mistook Modred, the villain of the Arthurian romances, for Myrddin, or Merlin, but made bards of two Welsh princes who only had bards in their service. For Evan Evans, to whom Gray was largely indebted for the scanty traditional matter upon which he based his famous Ode,\* mentions, in his 'Dissertatio de Bardis,' 'Tristfardd, the bard of Urien Reged,' and 'Avan Verddig, the bard of Cadwallon ap Cadvan,' among the poets who flourished about the same time as Taliesin, Aneirin, and Llywarch Hên.

No account, however brief, of the early poetry of Wales would be complete without a word of tribute to the work in which Evan Evans—'the Long Bard' (Y Prydydd Hir), as he styled himself, and is still called in the Principality—sought, first of all Welshmen, to direct the attention of English readers to the buried treasures of Kymric poetry. Evans deserves a place—humble it may be, but not altogether unimportant—among those who contributed something to that new interest in remote and archaic forms of literature which was so marked a feature of the early Romantic revival in the eighteenth century. That movement drew much both from 'Gothic,' or Scandinavian, and from Celtic sources, and 'the frugal note of Gray' echoes snatches of song caught from both these distant shores of old romance. Evan Evans was not only known to Gray, but was also a correspondent of Bishop Percy. Above all, he was ambitious to give the world more authentic examples of the primitive Celtic genius than Macpherson had just done in his so-called Ossianic poems. He had, however, little chance against the astute Scotsman, who, gauging well the sentimental and melancholy mood of the age, dressed up his matter in a rhetorical style that took Europe by storm, and so dwarfed

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\* 'Although not published until 1764, the ms.' of some work from Evans' hand 'was, we learn from a letter of Dr Wharton, in Gray's hands by July 1760, and may have reached him by 1757.' (Note in Palgrave's 'Golden Treasury'.)

altogether Evans' much more modest efforts. But there were not wanting shrewd critics who thought the Welshman had more genuine matter in hand, and among these was Bishop Percy. 'Amidst the general attention of ancient and foreign poetry,' we find Percy writing to Evans in 1761, 'it would be a pity to leave that of the ancient Britons forgotten and neglected'; and he urges Evans to 'collect and translate the valuable remains' which must exist in the Welsh tongue.

'I may modestly pretend' (he continues) 'to have some credit with the booksellers, and with Mr Dodsley in particular, who is my intimate friend. . . . I will also communicate your labours to several eminent *Literati* of my acquaintance, and, to mention one in particular, Mr Johnson, the author of the Dictionary, Rambler, etc., who will, I am sure, be glad to recommend your work, and to give you any advice for the most advantageous disposal of it.'

In subsequent letters Percy alludes to Macpherson's activity in 'furiously picking up subscriptions for his proposed translation of the ancient epic poem in the Erse language,' and thinks that 'a collection of such pieces' as Evans had in view 'would not fail to prove as acceptable to the public as the Erse fragments, and would be far more satisfactory, because you could remove all suspicions of their genuineness, which, I am afraid, Mr Macpherson is not able to do.'

It is not recorded whether Dr Johnson, or any other of the 'eminent *Literati*' to whom Percy alludes, gave Evans any substantial encouragement to proceed with his experiment. All that we know of Johnson's attitude towards such things scarcely justifies the assumption that the Welshman derived much assistance from him. It was due, mainly, to the good offices of Percy himself—unless Gray lent a helping hand—that Evans came to publish, through the brothers Dodsley, in 1764 his 'Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards, translated into English.' This title, however, covered only about a third of the contents of the entire volume. The translations are followed by a Latin essay, called 'De Bardis Dissertatio,' which professes to give a historical account of the oldest Welsh bards, and includes, among other poetical fragments, a Latin version of several

stanzas of Aneirin's 'Gododin.' The third section of the book, prefaced by a Welsh address 'To the Kymry,' contains the Welsh texts of the poems translated in the first part. Few more singular volumes have ever issued from the press than this composite quarto of English, Latin, and Welsh curiosities, and, although long since superseded by the researches of later scholars, it still remains a work from which the student of Welsh poetry will derive as much instruction as entertainment. The 'Specimens' are mostly taken from the poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—the second great bardic period. Of the poems of the alleged sixth-century bards, Evans gives us, apart from the Latin translations from the 'Gododin,' but one example—the 'Consolation of Elphin,' attributed to Taliesin.\* Evans is only one of many Welsh scholars who have had to confess themselves beaten by the language of the oldest of the bards, which still contains, even as it did in his time, 'numerous obsolete words, not to be found in any dictionary or glossary, either in print or manuscript.'

This is not the place to tell the story of the progress of Welsh scholarship since Evans' time, or to follow the controversy over the claims of Celtic antiquity which attended, step by step, the gradual recovery and publication of ancient Welsh documents. That story is very fully and well told both in the introductory chapter to Dr Skene's edition of 'The Four Ancient Books of Wales,' and in Matthew Arnold's lectures on 'The Study of Celtic Literature.' The chief landmarks in the modern advance of Welsh studies are the publication, during the first decade of the last century, of the monumental 'Myvyrian Archæology of Wales,' through the joint efforts of Owen Jones, a London furrier, Edward Williams, better known in Wales under his bardic name of Iolo Morgannwg, and Dr William Owen Pughe; the appearance in 1848 of Thomas Stephen's 'Literature of the Kymry,' and in 1868 of Skene's 'Four Ancient Books';

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\* The 'Consolation of Elphin' should be well known to readers of Thomas Love Peacock, for Evans' modest prose version is expanded into a highly decorated lyric in chap. v. of 'The Misfortunes of Elphin.' Peacock's immediate source for this, and other Welsh poems 'transfused' by him, was Nash's 'Taliesin, or the Bards and Druids of Britain'; but Nash's translation of the 'Consolation' is a palpable recension of Evans'.

and, lastly, the publication from Oxford and elsewhere of a series of Welsh texts, to which Dr Gwenogvryn Evans' sumptuous edition of 'The Black Book of Carmarthen' is the most recent, and not the least notable addition.

'The Black Book' is the oldest considerable repertory of old Welsh poetry that we possess, and forms one of the group of MSS. which Skene called the 'four ancient' Welsh 'books.' There is no very great propriety in Skene's title apart from the fact that the best known, and the oldest, MS. collections of Welsh poetry are four in number and have each a distinctive and well-remembered name. These MSS. range in date from the end of the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The earliest is the 'Book of Carmarthen,' compiled during the latter part of the twelfth century, and it is known as 'The Black Book' because it was written at the priory of St John's, founded for Black Canons at Carmarthen in 1148. It contains poems partly historical and partly mythological in character, many of which palpably belong in substance to a much earlier period than the twelfth century. The next oldest MSS. are 'The Book of Aneirin,' which contains the 'Gododin' poems, and 'The Book of Taliesin'—both dating from the thirteenth century. Towards the close of the fourteenth century 'The Red Book of Hergest,' now preserved in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, was compiled. It was from the 'Red Book,' which includes both prose and poetry, that Lady Charlotte Guest made her well-known translation of the 'Mabinogion.'

Skene and other constructive critics of like adventurous temper find in many of the poems preserved in these documents what were originally contemporary records of men and events of the sixth and seventh centuries.

'In the "Red Book of Hergest"' (he writes),\* 'in the historical poems attributed to Llywarch Hên, there occurs throughout a current of expressions which imply that the bard witnessed the events he alludes to, and must have lived during the period extending from the death of Vrien to that of Cadwallon in 659.'

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\* 'Four Ancient Books of Wales,' i, 235.

The latest editor of 'The Black Book of Carmarthen' advances no such confident opinion about any of the poems included in his volume, and strictly limits his historical comments to such poems as obviously refer to events and personages of the twelfth century itself. Skene was doubtless, as Dr Gwenogvryn Evans alleges, too apt to 'discover sixth-century incidents in twelfth-century historical facts.' But, even though we find in it historical poems of undoubted twelfth-century origin, and religious poems bearing the manifest impress of a late monastic culture, the 'Black Book,' like the other MSS., contains much that takes us back to a period so remote as to make it all but impossible to distinguish between history and pure myth. Take, for example, the very first poem in the 'Black Book.' It introduces us at once to two of the most elusive names of the primitive Kymric world, Myrddin (Merlin) and Taliesin. Yet, although it is cast in the form of a dialogue between these two bardic phantoms, it palpably deals with historical events of the sixth century. Its subject is the battle of Arvderydd, or Ardderyd, of which we have a brief record in the 'Annales Cambriæ' under the year 573. All the chronicler tells us is, '573 Annus, Bellum Armterid'; but the 'Black Book' poem gives us the names of the heroes who distinguished themselves on the field. We hear of Maelgwn and his host, of Errith and Gurrih, of Cynvelyn (Cymbeline), of the 'seven sons of Elifer,' and of 'seven score generous ones who went to the shades in the wood of Celyddon.' Here we have a typical example of the kind of matter one meets with again and again in these early Welsh poems. They are nearly all chants of 'arms and of men,' and celebrate the exploits, and especially the heroic deaths, of warriors whose resounding names suggest vistas of a rich and strange world of romance. But to map out that world, and to reconstruct its history upon the basis of these epic and elegiac fragments, is a task that seems likely to remain for ever beyond the wit of the most resourceful scholar.\*

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\* 'In many instances the difficulty is rather that of matter than of form; the poems deal with obscure forgotten myths, and are not explained, as in the elder "Edda," with prose introductions and epilogues. Through many of these there is to be felt, along with the abrupt enigmatic phrase, a sense of real meaning in the story; the fault is in the later generations, to

It is more profitable to desist altogether from historical quest and speculation in studying these poems, and to approach them, for what they are worth, as specimens of the primitive literary art of an imaginative and emotional race. Some of the poems—and they form, perhaps, the most fascinating portion of the 'Black Book'—transport us into that land of fantasy and illusion in which the characters of the 'Mabinogion' live and move. Several of those very characters appear in them, and in much the same light and atmosphere that surround them in the prose tales. We are here at the heart of what the more famous exponents of Celtic traits in literature, like Renan and Matthew Arnold, find to be most distinctive of the Celtic genius. Here is the Celtic wonderland in all its glamour, with its magicians, its phantom warriors, its 'forests and enchantments drear,' its semi-human animals and super-human men—in fact, with all the apparatus of illusion employed by the story-tellers of the 'Mabinogion.' We even come within distant hail of King Arthur, although the shadowy figure who flits through this weird Kymric fairy-land is a very different being from the courtly potentate whose state at Caerleon came to be so circumstantially described in the days of high romance. None of the conventions of the romantic 'schools' is to be found here; nothing but pure legend, ingenuously and artlessly told. Conscious art, or artifice, reveals itself only in the form of the poems. Their matter is drawn from the dreams of a lost land of enchantment, and, however grotesque and fantastic it may be, is presented as the most natural thing in the world.

A poem in the 'Black Book' which serves largely to illustrate all this is the second dialogue mentioned by Dr Evans in his introduction. The speakers in the

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have forgotten what every child once knew; to have lost, for instance, the story, not well recorded even in the oldest Welsh mythologies, of the voyages of Arthur. But here, though the interpretation is wanting and the dream itself only half remembered, the poetical value is not lost; the meaning of the story remains in the burden at the end of each stanza—

"Three freights of Prydwen went we on the sea;  
Seven alone did we return from Caer Rigor."

For the poetical sense this hardly needs a commentary, though one would like to know more about the dangers Arthur steered through.' (W. P. Ker, 'The Dark Ages,' p. 336.)

poem are Gwyddneu Garanhir and Gwyn ab Nudd—two names familiar enough to students of Welsh mythology—and the dialogue at once suggests points of analogy with that most fantastic and archaic of Welsh prose tales, the story of 'Kulhwch and Olwen.' Gwyddneu seeks sanctuary under Gwyn's protection, and, having had this promised him, proceeds to ask Gwyn who he is.

'I' (replies Gwyn) 'am called the *Enchanter*. I am Gwyn, the son of Nudd, the lover of Creurddilad, the daughter of Lludd. This, my horse, is Carngrwn, the terror of the field; he will not let me parley with you; when bridled he is restless; he is impatient to go to Drum, my home on the Tawë. I do not mean the Towy near by, but the Tawë some distance away. I am retiring to the border of the Severn sea. My gold ring and my white saddle I cast off, because of my sorrow, for I have witnessed slaughter before Caer Vantwy. Yes, before Mantwy have I seen a host with their targes shivered and their spears broken. Aye, honourable men even did violence to the fair. Fair is my dog and brave' (he continues). 'The best of dogs is Dormarch; he was formerly with Maelgwn Gwynedd. Dormarch is ruddy-nosed when you look at him carefully, because, as you perceive, he is constantly wandering in the mist of the mountain. I too wander, and have visited the death-scenes of Gwendoleu, the mainstay of the arts, of Bran, of Llacheu the son of Arthur, whose skill was wonderful, and of Meurig. I have not been to the grave of Gwallawg in the land of Lloegria, but I have stood over the graves of the warriors of Britain from the east to the north, and from the east to the south. I am alive; they are all in the grave, dead.'

If we turn from this poem to the so-called 'Mabinogi' of 'Kulhwch and Olwen,' we find ourselves in just the same atmosphere and meet with the same characters. Both Gwyn and Gwddneu figure in the prose tale; but what is given most prominence as regards Gwyn in the 'Mabinogi' is his quarrel with Gwythyr—a name that stands in close proximity to that of Arthur in a famous triplet in the 'Stanzas of the Graves' in the 'Black Book'—for the possession of Creiddilad (the Creurddilad of the poem), the daughter of Lludd, who, as Dr Evans reminds us, 'appears in English as Cordelia, the daughter of King Lear.' Creiddilad is described in the 'Mabinogi' as 'the most majestic of the maids of



the island of Britain,' and the issue of the quarrel for her between Gwyn and Gwythyr is determined by the intervention of Arthur, who condemns the two to fight for her 'every first of May until the day of doom.' Gwyn is a conspicuous figure in the strange company gathered around Arthur in the tale of 'Kulhwch.' He takes part in the great boar hunt, after the *porcus Troit*, as Nennius calls him, or the 'Twrch Trwyth' of Welsh fable. 'It is not possible to hunt the boar Trwyth,' says Olwen's father to Kulhwch, 'without Gwyn the son of Nudd, whom God has endowed with the activity of all the devils of Annwn (Hades).'

Yet another dialogue in the 'Black Book' brings us into close touch with 'Kulhwch and Olwen,' and refers, apparently, to incidents which are told in greater detail in the prose romance. King Arthur appears before a castle guarded by one who bears the awe-inspiring name of Glewlwyd Gavaelvawr, or Glewlwyd of the Mighty Grasp. Arthur demands admission, but Glewlwyd refuses to admit him until he gives a full account of himself and his followers. Then ensues a recital by Arthur of the names and the deeds of his chief retainers. Here, again, we meet with characters familiar to readers of the 'Mabinogion'—Mabon, the son of Modron, Manawyddan, the son of Llyr, and, above all, Kei and Bedwyr (Kay and Bedivere), an inseparable pair among the Arthurian fellowship of early Welsh tradition. Bedwyr, as the poet tells, is a mighty warrior, 'men fell by the hundred before him'; but mightier still is Kei.

'Vain were it to boast against Kei in battle; when from a horn he drank, he drank as much as four men; when he came into battle, he slew as would an hundred; unless it were God's doing, Kei's death would be unachieved.'

It must indeed have been a difficult matter, if we are to believe what we are told in 'Kulhwch and Olwen,' to get the better of Kei. For 'very subtle was Kei,' the storyteller gravely informs us; 'when it pleased him, he could make himself as tall as the highest tree in the forest'; he had also 'this peculiarity, that his breath lasted nine nights and days under water, and he could exist nine nights and nine days without sleep.'

Even the bards who inhabit this Kymric wonderland



are superhuman. Merlin and Taliesin are, in their way, enchanters no less than 'chiefs of song,' and, as time went on, all sorts of weird traditions gathered around their names. Thus, poems ascribed to Taliesin represent him as having been 'in Canaan when Absalom was slain,' as being 'chief overseer of the building of the tower of Nimrod,' as riding 'on the horse's crupper of Elias and Enoch,' and so on—grotesque fancies which have justly excited the derision of the destructive critics. But these same poems also tell us that the bard was 'in the hall of Dôn before Gwydion was born,' that he 'drew his inspiration from the cauldron of Ceridwen,' that he was 'thrice resident in the castle of Arianrod'—statements that project us once more into the ghostly regions of early Celtic myth. In one of the dialogues of the 'Black Book' Taliesin is called 'the challenger in the conflict of song,' and we are at once reminded of Thomas Love Peacock's somewhat irreverent descriptions of Taliesin's bardic bouts in 'The Misfortunes of Elphin.' There is nothing, however, in the 'Black Book' or in any other authentic repertory of Welsh poetry, either by Taliesin or by other bards, which contains the germ of the celebrated 'War-Song of Dinas Vawr,' styled by Peacock 'the quintessence of all the war-songs that ever were written.' The 'magnanimous heroes' who

'brought away from battle,  
And much their land bemoaned them,  
Two thousand head of cattle,  
And the head of him who owned them,'

are the creatures merely of Peacock's own sportive imagination. War-songs, of course, there are in plenty, but they deal with sterner and more mournful themes than the pæan of the freebooters of Dinas Vawr. The 'Black Book,' however, is full of references to characters and incidents with which Peacock's fancy made play. Seithenyn the Drunkard, for example, is one of the outstanding figures in 'The Misfortunes of Elphin,' and is there brought into dramatic encounter with Taliesin. The story of Seithenyn's neglected stewardship, which led to the inundation of Cantrev y Gwaelod—the Kymric Lyonesse in Cardigan Bay—is the subject of the last poem but one in the 'Black Book.' At its close we are

told—in a triplet which reappears among the ‘Stanzas of the Graves’—to look for

‘The grave of Seithenhin, the weak-minded,  
Between Kaer Kenedir and the sea-shore  
Here also lie Môr the great-hearted, and Kinran.’

The form of this Seithenyn poem, and of the ‘Stanzas of the Graves,’ serves as well as any to illustrate the structural peculiarities and the style of these primitive metrical experiments. Here we have authentic specimens of those ‘riddling triplets of old time’ which Tennyson has put with so much effect into the mouth of Merlin in ‘The Coming of Arthur.’ In spite of the frequent obscurity of their meaning, even the casual reader who spells his way through these verses cannot fail to be struck by their compact expression and symmetrical structure. No translation can do them justice, as it is impossible to reproduce in English the combined effect of their alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. Take, for example, the lines about Seithenyn’s grave, of which a translation has just been given :

‘Bet Seithenhin synhuir uann  
Rug Kaer Kenedir a glann  
Môr maurhidic a Kinran.’

The alliteration and the rhyme in these lines are at once obvious even to the reader who knows no Welsh, but it is only those who can speak the language and know how the accent falls, that can appreciate the full effect of their rhythmic movement. Not only the formal characteristics, but the general style and matter, of these triplets, ending, as they frequently do, with solemn gnomic tags, are well exemplified in the poem on Seithenyn’s doom :

‘The roar of the raging sea over the rampart!  
To God-ward should man’s thoughts turn.  
After pride cometh lasting destruction.  
  
The roar of the raging sea overpowers me this night,  
And not easy is it to relieve me;  
After pride cometh a fall.  
  
The roar of the raging sea this night  
Impels me away from my chamber;  
After pride cometh far-reaching ruin.’

Such lines—and there are many more like them—might very well have served as models for Tennyson's *Merlin* triplets:

'Rain, rain and sun! a rainbow in the sky!  
A young man will be wiser by and by;  
An old man's wit may wander ere he die.

Rain, rain and sun! a rainbow on the lea!  
And truth is this to me, and that to thee;  
And truth or clothed or naked let it be.

Rain, sun and rain! and the free blossom blows;  
Sun, rain and sun! and where is he who knows?  
From the great deep to the great deep he goes.\*

But, impossible though it is to represent in a translation the formal peculiarities of this early poetry in whatever mould we find it, English versions which adhere to the order of the lines do in some degree manage to reflect its charm of style. And Matthew Arnold had nothing more than this to go upon when he singled out 'style' as 'the most striking quality' of Celtic poetry. †

'Celtic poetry' (he continues) 'seems to make up to itself for being unable to master the world and give an adequate interpretation of it, by throwing all its force into style, by bending language at any rate to its will, and expressing the ideas it has with unsurpassable intensity, elevation, and effect. It has all through it a sort of intoxication of style—a "Pindarism," to use a word formed from the name of the poet on whom, above all other poets, the power of style seems to have exercised an inspiring and intoxicating effect; and not in its great poets only, in Taliesin, or Llywarch Hên, or Ossian, does the Celtic genius show this Pindarism, but in all its productions:

"The grave of March is this, and this the grave of Gwythyr;  
Here is the grave of Gwgawn Gled-dyf-reidd (Ruddy-sword);  
But unknown is the grave of Arthur."

These lines, as Arnold points out, are by the unknown author of the 'Verses of the Graves,' and reflect the same

\* Tennyson, as his son records in his annotated edition of his father's poems (i, 386; Macmillan, 1907), was well acquainted with Skene's 'Four Ancient Books of Wales,' and it is there that he must have found the suggestions, for they are many, for his 'riddling triplets.'

† 'The Study of Celtic Literature,' p. 121 (Popular edition). Smith, Elder, 1891.

instinct for form and artistic effect as 'the famous Welsh Triads' do. 'We may put aside all the vexed questions as to their greater or less antiquity, and still what important witness they bear to the genius for literary style of the people who produced them!'

There is, however, something more than style, or, if we prefer so to call it, technique, in these early Welsh fragments. Their sentiment, and especially their feeling for nature, frequently arrest us. Pathos we should naturally expect to find in poems so many of which strike an elegiac note; but it is difficult to detect in this pathos, as Matthew Arnold does, a peculiar species of 'Celtic melancholy.' The tears that bedew the cheeks of those who mourn over the departed glories of the Hall of Kynddylan† are not shed at the bidding of any rarer anguish than that which finds expression in the early poetry of other races. Even 'the creeping Saxon'—as in the old English poems of 'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer'—weeps at the contemplation of desolate halls; while the Arabs of the seventh century wrote poems 'beginning always with what is called the *nasīb*, a melancholy reflection on deserted dwellings or camping grounds.'‡ There is, in truth, as little that is distinctly Celtic about these lamentations of Llywarch Hên—if they be really his—as there is in Macpherson's highly-coloured versions of Ossian's alleged jeremiads. All mankind shares these feelings and expresses them in much the same way. What, however, is more distinctive of the early Welsh poems is their observation of, and even feeling for, outward nature. Dr Gwenogvryn Evans, in his introduction to the 'Black Book,' duly notes this feature, and gives us translations of passages which show how the Welsh bards could, even thus early, attune their songs to the changing moods of nature. They love to wander 'where the white clover blows, where the dew pearls the fields, where nature's choristers are in

\* 'The Study of Celtic Literature,' p. 121.

† The lament over the Hall of Kynddylan, ascribed to Llywarch Hên, is one of the best-known fragments of early Welsh poetry.

‡ Sir A. Lyall's 'Tennyson,' in 'English Men of Letters' series. 'Here' (Lyall continues) 'we have the opening prelude of "Locksley Hall."' The Arabic poems in question were called the Moallakât, or Suspended Poems, and were first translated into English by Sir William Jones. (See Lord Tennyson's notes to his father's poems, i, 341.)

constant harmony.' Each season has its appropriate hymn.

'The Spring is the choicest time, with its chirming of birds and its green burgeons; the ploughs are in furrow, the oxen in yoke; green is the sea, and decked in many colours are the fields, what time the cuckoos call from the gay branches of the trees.'

But winter also has its music, sullen and tumultuous enough, but not without its harmony.

'Eager is the breeze, and bare lies the hill; shelter is hard to find—scarce out can man remain. The dust eddies, the tempest waxes, the trees swing their arms wildly in the woods, the ship scuds with bare poles over the sea, the gull rides the surf, wave upon wave thunders upon the shore, and the hills echo the resounding roar. . . . The ford is troubled, the lake frozen, the cotton grass withers, snow mantles hill and dale, the stag hunches his back and seeks the glen, warriors quit the field and the shield lies idle.'

There is little or no fanciful imagery here—the bare, curt phrases being flung at one as though to suggest the rapid and relentless movements of the storm.

This poem is one of many associated with the celebrated name of Llywarch Hên, and if he be indeed their author—although they come to us in a twelfth-century garb—he is well entitled to all his bardic honours. The prevalent note of most of the odes assigned to him is one of melancholy, but it is a melancholy that frequently rises into a strain of sombre grandeur. We have in them little of the wistful melancholy, the *Sehnsucht* supposed to be peculiar to the Celt, but rather what Matthew Arnold more appropriately terms the Celtic 'Titanism'—the 'passionate, turbulent, indomitable reaction against the despotism of fact.' They breathe the protest of a sturdy and restive spirit, to whom youth and health, fair weather and good fortune, are the supreme things, against the creeping hand of time and the ineluctable decrees of fate.

'Behold, old age!' (Llywarch cries in his elegy on his son Gwên)\* 'which makes sport of me from the hair of my head to

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\* From 'The Red Book of Hergest,' translated in Skene's 'Four Ancient Books,' i, 328. The version here given is the somewhat freer rendering quoted by M. Arnold in 'The Study of Celtic Literature,' § vi.

my teeth, to my eyes, which women loved. The four things I have all my life most hated fall upon me together—coughing and old age, sickness and sorrow. I am old, I am alone; shapeliness and warmth are gone from me; the couch of honour shall be no more mine. I am miserable; I am bent on my crutch. How evil was the lot allotted to Llywarch the night he was brought forth! Sorrows without end, and no deliverance from his burden!’

*Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*  
This threnody of Llywarch Hên's illustrates a class of poems in which Welsh literature is peculiarly rich, for the Welsh bards have, at all periods, been singularly successful in the elegy. The most considerable single achievement attributed to the sixth century bards is an elegy, or rather a series of elegies—the famous ‘Gododin.’ This work, ascribed to Aneirin, comprises over a hundred stanzas, of varying length and form, commemorating the warriors who ‘marched to Cattraeth with the dawn’ and fell in the seven days’ battle which was there fought. The problems involved in determining the date of the ‘Gododin,’ in ascertaining its correct text and meaning, and in identifying the persons, localities, and events recorded in it, are of extreme difficulty.\* Aneirin speaks in his own name in a stanza in the middle of the poem, and one would gather from it that he was the friend, if not the disciple, of Taliesin, and, according to the tradition, disputed with him the title of ‘the king of the bards.’ Moreover, he was a warrior as well as a poet, and he sings of the battle of Cattraeth as an eye-witness of and a participator in the fray. The poem—if we are to take it as the work of a single author—was probably designed as an elegy of all the Kymric chieftains who perished at Cattraeth; even in its present fragmentary form some ninety heroes find a place in it. The following translation of two stanzas,

\* The text of the ‘Gododin’ is printed, and translated by Skene in his ‘Four Ancient Books’; he also discusses, in his introductory chapters, the critical questions connected with the poem. An edition of the poem, with an English translation, was published by I. Williams ab Ithel in 1852. The best critical edition, however, is that of the late Thomas Stephens, author of ‘The Literature of the Kymry,’ revised and enlarged by Prof. T. Powel, and printed for the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1888. A free and not altogether uninspired translation of part of the ‘Gododin’ in rhyme will be found in the late Henry Morley’s ‘English Writers,’ vol. i.

taken at random, will sufficiently indicate its general style and matter.

'From the wine-feast and the mead-feast they fared  
To the clash of mail-clad warriors;  
I know of no slaughter so swift—  
So utter was their destruction.  
Before Cattraeth free in their chatter were the hosts,  
But of the retinue of Mynyddog—great is the pity—  
Of three hundred men, there came back but one.

From the wine-feast and the mead-feast they hied,  
Heroes well worthy the homage of generous hearts;  
In bright array around the board they revelled  
With wine and mirth and mead.  
The retinue of Mynyddog was our undoing,  
And robbed me of a ruler and a true friend;  
Of three hundred noble ones who hied to Cattraeth,  
Alas! there came back but one.'

The fragment of the 'Gododin,' which Evan Evans put into Latin in his 'Dissertatio de Bardis,' appears among Gray's poems under the title of 'The Death of Hoel.'

'To Cattraeth's vale in glitt'ring row  
Thrice two hundred warriors go;

But none from Cattraeth's vale return  
Save Aeron brave, and Conan strong,  
Bursting through the bloody throng—  
And I, the meanest of them all,  
That live to weep and sing their fall.'

This is not Aneirin; but English imitations or translations of him are so rare that Welshmen derive some pleasure from reading even this indifferent exercise of Gray's.

One cannot turn away from the poetry of this earliest group of Welsh bards without a word of reference to one great name, apparently historical, that figures largely in their compositions, especially as the prominence given to that name is in such striking contrast to the reticence of the bards concerning the paramount British hero whose prowess, above that of all others, one would have expected to fire their imagination—King Arthur. In the poems ascribed to Llywarch Hên and Taliesin, no champion of the British race against the inroads of the



Saxon figures so triumphantly as the warrior-prince Urien, or Vrien Rheged. The pæans sung in his praise are glowing examples of a form of panegyric that remained for centuries one of the staple poetical exercises of the Welsh bards. 'Till I fall into old age and the fell clutch of death,' so runs the refrain of more than one song of Taliesin, 'may I never smile if I praise not Urien.' And Urien's praise, from all that his eulogists tell us, seems to have been argument worthy even of the peerless 'challenger in the conflict of song.'

'Doorkeeper, list!' (Taliesin sings). 'What tumult was that? Is it the earth that shakes, or is it the sea that swells? . . . Came it over the hill? It is Urien who makes men tremble! Or, was it above the valley? It is Urien who thrusts! Or, came it over the mountain? It is Urien on his conquering way!

Urien's bounty was no less signal than his martial prowess. He was generous of his gold and silver, of his mead and his meat—especially to bards. 'The bards of the world,' says Taliesin again, 'find favour before thee, and verily they ever sing unto thee after thy desire.' In the 'Red Book of Hergest' we have Urien's elegy, sung by Llywarch Hên. From that poem we gather that Llywarch was with Urien in his last battle, in which he was decapitated, and that it was he who carried the hero's head away from the field.

'A head I bear by my side—the head of Urien, the kingly leader of his host; on his white breast a black crow feeds. A head I bear under my doublet—the head of Urien, the gracious ruler of his court; on his white breast the ravens batten.'

The elegy concludes with a lament, much in the same strain as that upon the Hall of Kynddylan, over the desolation of the hearth which had so long witnessed the festive glee of Urien's household.

In marked contrast to their lavish praise of Urien stands the silence of these early bards about Arthur. Three poems in which he is mentioned—including the brief but suggestive allusion to his unknown grave in the 'Black Book'—have already been referred to. In only some two or three other poems in all the 'Four Books' do we find even a trace of his name. The most important



of these is a poem in the 'Black Book' called 'Gereint, the son of Erbin,'—a name which also appears as the title of one of the prose 'Mabinogion.' Here Arthur figures as the leader of a group of warriors, of whom Gereint is the chief, fighting at a place called Llongborth.

' At Llongborth saw I of Arthur's  
Brave men hewing with steel  
(Men of the) emperor, director of toil.

At Llongborth there fell of Gereint's  
Brave men from the borders of Devon,  
And, ere they were slain, they slew.'

This poem would seem to speak of a historical Arthur—the *guledig*, or war leader, the *dux bellorum* whose twelve great battles are celebrated by Nennius. We have nothing else, however, to indicate that the earlier bards, any more than the story-teller in 'Kulhwch and Olwen,' drew any distinction between Arthur and the other mythical heroes of the Celtic fairy-land. Nor do we fare much better when we come to the bards who lived from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, during and after the great efflorescence of Arthurian romance which began with Geoffrey of Monmouth. While the 'Mabinogion' form a singularly fascinating Welsh contribution to Arthurian prose romance, the medieval Welsh bards added nothing of value to the poetical development of Arthurian story. Inheritors though they were of the fairest and richest demesne of European romance, they seem to have deliberately turned their backs upon its alluring prospects, to cultivate, for the most part, the barren soil of topical and complimentary poetry. Hence the productions of the second great period of bardic activity in Wales, consisting as they do mostly of panegyrics and elegies of nobles and high-born dames of the day, possess singularly little interest for the modern reader. It was not until the latter half of the fourteenth century that a poet—Dafydd ap Gwilym—appeared who, by turning to Love and Nature for his themes, proved that adherence to technical bardic conventions was not incompatible with genuine lyric fervour.

And yet, despite the limitations and the unadventurous character of the bardic experiments of the period, the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries in Wales, as in the

rest of western Europe, witnessed a remarkable intellectual awakening which sought expression in many new forms of literary and artistic enterprise. The Welsh princes of this period were enlightened and liberal patrons of the arts, and the coming of the Normans gave an immense stimulus to literary activity in particular. We have records which indicate that, by the end of the twelfth century, it had become the fashion to encourage bards and musicians in their respective crafts by instituting competitions between them on lines which clearly foreshadow the subsequent development of the Eisteddfod. Even the Eisteddfodic ceremony of 'chairing' the successful bard seems to have existed in some rudimentary form, for in the Laws of Howel the Good—the codification of which is itself a signal monument of the intellectual activity of the period—we read :

'From the person who shall conquer where there is contention for a chair, he [the judge of the court] is to have a bugle-horn and a gold ring, and the pillow placed under him in his chair.'

As to the Eisteddfod itself, the first authentic record of the holding of a festival similar to the modern Welsh national gathering is found in one of the Welsh Bruts,\* and tells us how the Lord Rhys ap Gruffydd gave, in 1176, a great banquet in his castle at Cardigan.

'Notices of it a year in advance had been published, we are told, not only in Wales, but also in England, Scotland, and Ireland. We observe a difference between it and the Eisteddfod of the present day in that not only the best poet was then awarded a chair, but also the best musician, whereas now the former alone gets a chair. In other respects the Cardigan banquet was like the modern Eisteddfod, namely, in that the men of South Wales, for example, excelled in music, and those of Gwynedd (the North) in poetry.'†

Under such patronage it is not surprising to find that 'warranted' bards flourished by the score. And not only were the Welsh princes prodigal of their bounty to bards and minstrels, several of them

'knew

Themselves to sing and build the lofty rhyme.'

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\* See 'Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest,' p. 334 (Rhys and Evans. Oxford, 1887).

† 'The Welsh People,' first ed., p. 516 (Rhys and Brynmor-Jones).

'High-born Hoel,'\* the son of Owain Gwynedd, and Owain Kyveiliog, prince of Powys, who sang the celebrated elegy known as the song of the 'Hirlas Horn,' were among the best bards of the period, and remind us of those courts of Provence where the troubadour's art became the study and the pastime even of kings. Indeed, the position and the prerogatives of the Welsh bards during the period of the Princes appear to have been curiously similar to those of the Provençal troubadours. It was not until Dafydd ap Gwilym's time that the influence of Provençal poetry made itself appreciably felt in Wales, as it had already done in the rest of Europe; but from the moment Gruffydd ab Cynan, Rhys ap Tewdwr, and others, began to extend their patronage to them, the bards acquired in the courts of the Welsh chieftains a status and social privileges equal to those enjoyed by the troubadours in the south of France.

Nor is it alone on the strength of their common enjoyment of courtly patronage that the Welsh bards of the age of the Princes claim kinship with the troubadours. In Provence and in Wales alike the incontinent pursuit of ingenious metrical artifices ultimately all but extinguished the flame of poesy. The troubadours had early evolved among themselves a metrical 'code' much more elaborate and intricate than anything ever devised in Wales. Not until the fourteenth century did the law-givers of the Welsh bardic order prescribe the 'twenty-four measures' which were long held to be the necessary constituents of an ode worthy of the Eisteddfod chair, whereas a thirteenth-century treatise on the art of poetry, compiled at Toulouse, shows that the troubadours had even then thirty-four different ways of rhyming, and seventy-two different kinds of stanzas, bearing each its distinctive name. Yet it was a bard who derived much of his inspiration from the troubadours, and many of whose odes are imitations of conventional types of Provençal song, who strikes the first great note in Welsh lyric poetry and subdues a rigorous metrical system to the needs of an imperative poetic impulse. Historically, Dafydd ap Gwilym traces his line of poetical descent from Bernart of Ventadorn and Arnaut of

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\* Cf. Gray's 'Bard': 'high-born Hoel's harp, or soft Llywellyn's lay.'

Maruehl, and from the German minnesinger, Walther von der Vogelweide. There is nothing, however, to show that the Welsh bard had any direct knowledge of the works of either the troubadours or the minnesingers; and, alike in his independence of native bardic convention, and in the freshness and the freedom of his outlook upon life, he is one of the most original singers of the Middle Ages. Dafydd ap Gwilym, though he had his share of learning, and was brought up to the bardic craft under courtly auspices, instinctively rebelled against the traditional culture of the cloister and the schools. He dared, open-eyed, to 'gaze on nature's naked loveliness,' and he found it good. He is, above everything, the poet of the joy of life; to him 'sunshine and health,' and—as he frankly adds—'woman' are the cardinal essentials of earthly happiness. To this creed of sensuous enjoyment he held manfully through a life-time's warfare against sour priests and envious friars.

'Black sinner though I be' (he protests in one of his odes), 'yet have I art enough to get me a grave under the green leaves; there shall the letters of my name be duly cut, and memorials of Summer be laid over my head, and on the tombstone an image of my mistress, to stir my love e'en though I lie so low!'

In his revolt against the corrupt religion of his time, and in his passionate delight in all the wonder and the wealth of the visible world, Dafydd ap Gwilym anticipates the intrepid spirits of the later Renaissance. But we have to come down much nearer to our own time to find a poet who lived in such close intimacy with Nature as he, and whose songs so quiver and throb with the joyous impulse of Nature's own music. His songs are the spontaneous outpourings of a heart that was as blithe as a bird's, responding instinctively to the seasons' influences, and knowing, away from the haunts of man, no enemy but winter and rough weather. It was with him at the close of the fourteenth century, and not with the crowd of bards who, some three or four generations earlier, thronged the courts of the Princes, that the Welsh Muse came to her own, and fulfilled the promise of her obscure and stormy prime.

W. LEWIS JONES.

Art. 4.—THE ART OF HENRY JAMES.

*The Novels and Tales of Henry James.* New York edition. In twenty-four volumes. London: Macmillan, 1907-1909.

THE recent appearance of a definitive edition of Mr James's novels offers to his readers what he himself would call 'a beautiful incentive' to take a general view of his work.

Mr James's literary activity has extended over more than twenty years, and during that time not only his language and manner, but the fundamental theory of his art, has been modified in a way so curious and interesting as to provoke continual discussion, and divide his readers somewhat sharply into the champions of his earlier and his later styles. The publication of his 'complete works' seems the opportune moment for summing up the arguments on both sides, and trying to reach a general conclusion which shall more clearly interpret the importance of his work; yet the reperusal of these volumes checks the very zeal it excites by making the reader pause and ask himself, 'What need has Henry James of champions or interpreters?' Why, indeed, in such a case, 'jostle the elbow of slow-fingering Time'? Mr James has no need of such aid. He is bound to enter into his own; his final form is indestructible. But if words in recognition of his eminence can serve no end for him, they constitute an act which may have its uses for his public. They have the purifying grace of a confession. We know where *he* stands. We do ourselves a service in noting where *we* stand as well.

The opportunity of applying this test is abundantly aided by the prefaces to the new edition. In these prefaces Mr James has shed a vivid light on the theory of his own work, and incidentally on the art of fiction in general. They represent, in fact, the first serious attempt ever made in English to call upon that bewildered art to pause and give a conscious account of itself; to present its credentials and justify its existence. In these remarkable pages Mr James has again and again illustrated his general theory by taking to pieces before the reader the

complex machinery of his own fiction, and showing, with a beguiling candour, how and to what end its intricate parts were combined. The lesson is deeply instructive, though it may be questioned if it makes the process completely intelligible. The conjuror who shows his audience how a trick is done cannot impart the suppleness needed to execute it; he can display the successive gestures, not their moment of fusion. But Mr James's confidences have at least the inestimable value of showing how *he* can do the work, and why he does it.

The early James, the painter of the single consciousness, with its more or less loosely grouped surrounding incidents, won a large measure of popular success by the distinction of his intelligence, the precision of his vision, the admirable freshness and flexibility of his style. But he was a James who, save in the very early tales (so personal in their romance), was still evidently under the influence of French comedy, French art, and Russian art, of Flaubert, Maupassant, and Turgénieff. The James of the second period—extending, one might roughly say, from 'The Portrait of a Lady' to the great work of transition, 'What Maisie Knew,' and including such memorable volumes as 'The Princess Casamassima' and 'The Tragic Muse'—the artist of this period was simply disengaging and developing to the utmost the possibilities of expression latent in his first form of presentation. Taking up the hardly conscious theory of fiction where it had been left by Balzac—'the master of us all'—he had turned and twisted it about, and had shed on it at every angle the searching light of human experience. In the course of these experiments he had evolved, by a series of syntheses now clearly traceable in the collected edition, several principles tending to modify the whole theory of his art, and at last to break it down as the oak-roots, in Goethe's magnificent metaphor, burst the vase in which the acorn has been planted.

The most fruitful of these innovations was the principle that the action of each narrative should be recorded in the consciousness of one or more of the actors rather than in the vague impersonal register of an *ex machinâ* story-teller. Mr James had learned, in other words, that the only way of acquiring the objectivity necessary to artistic representation was to assume successively, and at

the exact 'psychological moment,' the states of mind of the actors *through whom his story became a story*. This method had been rigorously practised by the early French psychological novelists, the authors of such masterpieces as 'La Princesse de Clèves,' 'Adolphe,' or the 'Liaisons Dangereuses,' where the drama had been either confined to one consciousness, or else—as in the novel of Choderlos de Laclos—presented, by means of letters, in different sharply divided layers. The same necessity had been intermittently recognised by Balzac and Stendhal, though the enlargement of their field, and the introduction of a human background, an 'ambiance,' for their principal figures, had greatly complicated and often obscured the problem. It was left to Mr James to restate it in this infinitely more difficult form, to face the need of a definitive solution, and lastly to find that solution in the art of passing, at the inevitable moment, from the consciousness of one character to that of another. The increased sureness and dexterity of these transitions constitute the other notable characteristic of what has here been called his second manner, and point the way to the fundamental change distinguishing the novels of his latest period.

The James of the second manner (when he was producing things in their kind the peer of the most excellent of their kind), before he had come to himself, *saw himself coming*. It needed not the prefaces to tell us this; but they bring beautiful corroboration of his early sense of the possibilities within him. It was perhaps this sense of what his art still concealed from him, of the amazing answer he was yet to wring from it, that kept him so single-mindedly to his path. There is no nobler example of intellectual probity in the world of letters; and the rarity of such phenomena is not difficult to account for. The great danger that besets the artist is the peril of popularity, and the all-too seductive appeal to outdo himself, to abound still more in the same sense. It is at his risk that he leaves his admirers in the lurch. What? just as they have begun to understand and 'interpret' him he dares to perform a *volte-face* and show an aspect unknown to them? The secret of continued success is not to disturb the spectator's association of ideas. That is the lesson of any show-case of Tanagras. It is the



principle so delightfully, if deliberately, exploited by Renan in the last fifteen years of his life. It explains the abundance of the Henners, the Harpignies, even the Reynoldses, that stock the collections of our Adam Ververs. It requires courage to ignore this instant value of the trade-mark; for not only gratified vanity but uneasy self-criticism urges that the public may be right. Henry James had this high courage; and to it we owe the fact that he has become, throughout the English-speaking world of letters, one of those '*premiers parmi les plus grands*' with whom Hugo classed Balzac.

It is first of all on the ground of form that this may be affirmed of him; yet he himself has shown, in divers passages of self-analysis, how 'form' is in the last resort the outcome of the subject, as the subject is the outcome of the author's temperament. The arbitrary distinction between the two ought by this time to be classed among such metaphysical abstractions as the separateness of body and soul; and perhaps Mr James's statement of the indivisibility of form and content may help to kill a mischievous literary superstition.

No one has spoken more authoritatively on the vexed point of 'morality' of theme, on what Mr James calls 'the perfect dependence of the "moral" sense of a work of art on the *amount of felt life* concerned in producing it.' 'The question' (he goes on in the same passage) 'comes back thus obviously to the kind and degree of the artist's prime sensibility, which is the soil out of which the subject springs. The quality and capacity of that soil, its ability to "grow" with due freshness and straightness any vision of life, represents, strongly or weakly, the projected "morality."' One might sum up the subject by saying that, as there is no colour without vision, there is no 'subject,' good or bad, without contact with a given consciousness. In the domain of serious literature—the only one to be contemplated in such discussions—the so-called 'badness' of a subject lies in reality in the inadequacy of the mind transmitting it. The dull or discoloured mirror dims or disturbs the image it reflects.

The James of the third manner has surprised his most confident admirers by an evolution which even such a dispenser of æsthetic emotions as the creator of 'Daisy Miller' and 'Roderick Hudson,' of 'The Portrait of a



Lady' and 'The Tragic Muse,' could not lead them to foresee, an evolution lifting him so far above himself, and above the prevision of those who thought they knew all that could be known about him, that he has been left somewhat ignored, less immediately accessible, and, in this period of democratic neglect of all the superiorities, more austere aloof even than the best and most beautiful things have always been.

The charge oftenest brought against this new James is that of willingly cultivating a tantalising complexity of style. He is accused of seeing his own thoughts too long in advance, and, Hamlet-like, of pointing to the comet before it swims into our ken. He is said to be the prisoner of the whorl of the labyrinth, self-condemned to the arbitrary windings of a spiral ascent before reaching that luminous platform above the concentric hedges, whence there are restful vistas and wide horizons. Is it not rather that the mind of the modern reader, made myopic by the thin transcriptions of life which pass for fiction, has no perception of tone, depth, richness, and completeness of representation? All representation implies foreshortening; but that offered to the public by most of its favourites—who, as it were, pull their subject distortedly, absolutely to the surface, and flatten it out there so that it has no form nor body—results in an outline as puerile as that of the figures in a pack of cards. It is as near an approach to 'life' as a child's attempt to copy a Rembrandt etching by tracing its heavier lines through tissue paper; and how can eyes accustomed to such rudimentary adjustments develop an elasticity of function enabling them, not to measure, but even to see, a work of demiurgic art in rounded representation?

Passing from Mr James's formula to the field in which he has illustrated it, one finds the same originality of choice, the same resolve to deal with the unattempted. It is chiefly on æsthetic grounds that this appreciation of his work has been based; yet, even if one adopts the habitual Anglo-Saxon way, and judges him by the matter of his work, the importance of his product will assuredly be admitted to be immense and very special. In the ninety-six separate stories, with their thousands of intensely individual figures, Mr James has been many other

things, no doubt, but he has first of all been the historiographer of that vast epic—the modern Iliad, when its peripatetic and romantic elements do not make it more like an Odyssey—the clash between two societies, the mutual call of two sundered worlds, with not one Helen but a thousand to create complications and to fire the chivalry of two continents. As a sociological phenomenon, no ‘Return of the Heracleidæ,’ mythic or real, is comparable to the invasion of Europe by American women, backed by their indispensable heads of commissariat, the silent, clean-shaven American men. The emigration required its Homer, and Mr James was there.

Nothing, assuredly, was ever better worth ‘doing,’ no finer, richer chance ever stared a great writer in the face. The very vastness of the subject has been his ‘beautiful incentive,’ and he has watched the shock of America with Europe on all its battle-fields, Venice, London, Paris, Rome, Geneva. Some of the episodes are more salient, some more engaging than others, but all are parts of the great poem of the new mingling of the races.

In such a general survey of Mr James’s theme it is impossible not to note the saliency, all along the line, of the feminine figure. From the outset he has devoted his most penetrating powers to the scrutiny of the inscrutable sex; and the women he has created, while certainly not less vividly real and really human than his men, are both more numerous and more varied. Few such galleries of great ladies are elsewhere to be found. He knows all the types, the most formidable and unfathomable as well as the safest and the most irresistible.

‘Lo, how these fair immaculate women walk  
Behind their jocund maker . . .’

And since Stevenson filed his epithets for the slighted de Mauves, for Gressie the trivial sphinx, and Daisy and Barb and Chancellor, Mr James has created Maisie Farange and Nanda Brookenham, Charlotte Stant and Mrs Assingham and Maggie Verver.

‘By what process of logical accretion’ (he asks, speaking of Isabel Archer, in the preface to ‘The Portrait of a Lady’) ‘was this slight personality, the mere slim shade of an intelligent but presumptuous girl, to find itself endowed with the high attributes of a subject?’

And he gives his answer thus :

'Challenge any such problem with any intelligence, and you immediately see how full it is of substance ; the wonder being, all the while, as we look at the world, how absolutely, how inordinately, the Isabel Archers, and even much smaller female fry, insist on mattering. George Eliot has admirably noted it : " In these frail vessels is borne onward through the ages the treasure of human affection." In " Romeo and Juliet " Juliet has to be important, just as, in " Adam Bede " and " The Mill on the Floss " and " Middlemarch " and " Daniel Deronda," Hetty Sorrel and Maggie Tulliver and Rosamond Vincy and Gwendolen Harleth have to be ; with that much of firm ground, that much of bracing air, at the disposal all the while of their feet and their lungs. . . . Now to see deep difficulty braved is at any time, for the really addicted artist, to feel almost even as a pang the beautiful incentive, and to feel it verily in such sort as to wish the danger intensified. The difficulty most worth tackling can only be for him, in these conditions, the greatest the case permits of. So I remember feeling here (in presence, always, that is, of the particular uncertainty of my ground), that there would be one way better than another—oh, ever so much better than any other!—of making it fight out its battle. The frail vessel, that charged with George Eliot's " treasure," and thereby of such importance to those who curiously approach it, has likewise possibilities of importance to itself, possibilities which permit of treatment and in fact peculiarly require it from the moment they are considered at all. There is always the escape from any close account of the weak agent of such spells by using as a bridge for evasion, for retreat and flight, the view of her relation to those surrounding her. . . . " Place the centre of the subject in the young woman's own consciousness," I said to myself, " and you get as interesting and as beautiful a difficulty as you could wish. Stick to *that*—for the centre ; put the heaviest weight into *that* scale, which will be so largely the scale of her relation to herself. Make her only interested enough, at the same time, in the things that are not herself, and this relation needn't fear to be too limited. Place, meanwhile, in the other scale the lighter weight (which is usually the one that tips the balance of interest) ; press least hard, in short, on the consciousness of your heroine's satellites, especially the male ; make it an interest contributive only to the greater one. See, at all events, what can be done in this way. What better field could there be for a due ingenuity ? The girl hovers, unextinguishable, as a charming creature,

and the job will be to translate her into the highest terms of that formula, and as nearly as possible, moreover, into *all* of them."

It was thus, conjecturally, through his passionate interest in the presentation of the 'frail vessel,' and through the need of strengthening and fashioning it to contain the full measure of his theme, that Mr James first learned to reflect his narrative in a central consciousness, and to select that consciousness for the multiplicity of its contacts.

Such a consideration leads back to the fact that the documentary value of Mr James's work, unique as it is, is not his chief distinction. Far above it is his importance as an artist, as a creator of beautiful things. The primitive instinct of story-telling carries the novelist but a short way toward his goal. The art of fiction is other and more than the development of narrative; it is the most complete device invented for the representation of life. But there is representation and representation, and the way ultimately evolved and perfected, although not absolutely invented, by Henry James, is so unlike his earlier way that it constitutes the point of his lesson and the nature of his case. Only with Balzac may he be compared as to methods and to aims. Not that the methods of Balzac and Mr James are the only ways of representing life. Tolstoi, for instance, is an incomparable story-teller, but Tolstoi deals only with the surfaces, is merely a deeper, richer Maupassant; his pictures recall the extraordinarily interesting narratives told by the cinematograph. They are what we call 'life-like.' No one can surpass him in realism, and no one has kept such realism up for so long a time. But such hypnotisation of vision, one might add, is almost pathological, and sure to end eventually in pessimism, since it is a vision that has revealed no secluded refuges where the artist can repose, and has little to do with that active creative insight that lifts the veil from the external aspect of things. Yet lifting the veil is a preliminary operation for the novelist, since his problem is to show what there is behind it, taken in connexion with all the aspects of his foreground.

To dominate one's material, to melt together all its elements in a fresh synthesis, in which nothing is left out, that is the whole operation of art. It is cerebral

chemistry. Of the two highest activities of the human intelligence, art and science, the former alone puts in movement, agitates, the complete consciousness. And science itself is really fruitful and recompensing as an intellectual exercise only when, abandoning the *chemin de ronde* of the deductive method, it quits the syllogistic paths where the posters that indicate the way even to the most hurried of us spare us the pain of thinking, and pluckily allows itself to be lured towards new horizons by the will-o'-the-wisps of the imagination. Superior brains, like the brain of Henry James, alone achieve this higher synthesis, and thereby attain the steady serenity of their art, a serenity above individual preferences, which bestows the same care on each picture, each personage, each scene, because of the disinterested neutrality, the constant and perfect operation, of the registering organ.

But the great resemblance between the methods of Balzac and of Henry James must be qualified by an important difference. Balzac, the originator of 'atmosphere' in fiction, presented his single figures in the round, worked as a *plein-airiste* in detail, but failed to give his whole case plastically. The latter achievement has been Mr James's essential innovation. Before him the individual figure had had a back as well as a front, but the 'situation' in which it was involved had always been a frieze, not a group, a flat pattern, not a circum-navigable globe.

Perhaps only those who have practised the trade—however modestly—can detect (though so seldom skilled to follow) the elusive *procédés* that lead to the achievement of the fully plastic effect.

'These' (writes Mr James, again in the remarkable preface to 'The Portrait of a Lady'), 'these are the fascinations of the fabulist's art, these lurking forces of expansion, these necessities of upspringing in the seed, these beautiful determinations, on the part of the idea entertained, to grow as tall as possible, to push into the light and thickly flower there.'

In comparing the growth of the novel to that of a plant, Mr James has described the process by which his own stories grow, rather than that common to most works of fiction. For the plant, or the tree, branches out on all sides, and one must presuppose it, for its

welfare, to be enveloped on all sides by opportunities for light and air; whereas the only 'tree' which the average novel resembles is the flat diagram to which genealogists give that name. It is by seeing his situations thus more and more completely in the round, and by enabling his readers' intelligence to circulate freely about them, that Mr James, in his latest novels, has most sharply separated himself, not only from his predecessors, but from the other novelists of his day. Another important 'lesson of the master' is that of the fundamental necessity of self-saturation. Mr James has pointed out, in his lecture on Balzac, that the latter's consummate artistic probity lay in his respect for the *liberty of his subject*. But to set a subject free one must first have been its master. The average novelist absorbs so little of the stuff he deals in that the subsequent process of pressing it out produces but the thinnest of trickles; whereas with Balzac and Mr James the sometimes overwhelming flow of material proceeds from the opposite excess.

Balzac, in an admirable passage, notes that the artist's inevitable simplifying of what he sees results in the objects of his vision becoming larger than life. Thus he cannot avoid creating a type, and a type, being at once an enlargement and a simplification, has in it an inevitable element of caricature. But the artist is the last person to be the dupe of this fact, and if he be one of the great he tempers the crudity of the isolated representation by the device of slipping in an 'atmosphere,' creating a 'tone.' Balzac and James, by their elaborate treatment of all the circumstances surrounding their subjects, are toning down to the semblance of life figures which the method of David or of Ingres, of Daudet or of Goncourt, would have left as so many coloured silhouettes or grotesque accentuations. The amplitude of development necessary for the treatment *en relief* may result, for the mere story-seeker, in a maze of confusing detail; but the alerter eye sees in it life's own gradations of interwoven tone. A page of Mr James's later novels is like some vast, high-lifted park, exposing its densely-clad slopes to the rays of a late sun, embossed with the domes of verdure of a hundred shades of green, elms, oaks, and beeches contrasting with dusky pines and the slender silvery poplars of France,

the whole slope drinking, absorbing the light, blending and fusing its myriad tones and shades. *Eidullia*, little pictures of an infinite grace, come, as in Dante, to enhance the distinguished charm of the composition. They are the colour notes of the canvas, contributing to the general impression of beauty, their presence *felt* by every one of taste, but not necessarily perceived in and for themselves save by the 'restless analyst,' to whom, in 'The American Scene,' Mr James so abundantly refers. These are delicious devices of the art, these frequent enhancements of Mr James's. They make one wish for more space in which to dwell on the sense of the noble sweetness of his sentiment—that ivory *patine* on his product—which Dante shares with him, and which both share with certain painters of old Italy. The quality of feeling in question is one of the rarest in human nature; for if there are enough puling sentimentalists in literature to fill a large asylum, this high grace, which is that of the loveliest natural compositions—a vision, say, of a long summer twilight in the Cyclades, or of the Cornice Road of the 'Purgatorio'—has happened to bloom only at long intervals strangely sundered. Nowhere else indeed, unless it be in Dante, is there so much light, anything like the varied range of colour, *nuance*, tone.

It may be remarked in this connexion that if Mr James, like Balzac, has been less at his ease in the form of expression peculiar to the stage, it is doubtless partly because of the unwillingness of both to simplify to the verge of symbolism, as the dramatist must. Had these authors lived when the happy expedient of the Greek chorus still formed a part of dramatic expression, that subtle generator of atmosphere and tone might more often have induced them to give a dramatic form to their representations of life. In the case of Mr James, at any rate, the inference is justified by the fact that he has used the device admirably in the novel—for what else is the rôle of the Assingham couple in 'The Golden Bowl'?—and has defended it with ingenuity and eloquence in several passages of his prefaces.

If Shakespeare was rarely a writer of good plays, it was perhaps because he found simplification too dearly bought by the sacrifice of those effects of depth, density, colour-values, and perpetual interplay of light and shade



by which alone the great artistic temperament can approximately express its tidal oscillations of emotion. This conjecture was certainly confirmed by the French version of *King Lear* played in Paris a few years ago. Thus stripped of the essential magic of poetic interpretation, and reduced to the lines of a sublimated melodrama, the greatest of tragedies might have passed (like much of Sophocles under the same conditions) for a masterpiece of that *genre rosse* with which M. Antoine shocked the nerves of Paris some years ago.

The determination of Balzac and of James to make the art of the novelist a plastic art is virtually their refusal to forgo, for the purposes of creation, *the use of any means of contact with life*. To exercise the fullness of this prerogative is the last triumph, as it is the supreme difficulty, of the novelist. The difficulty is inherent in the material at the writer's disposal. Most people think only in words, most people, at all events, of the Anglo-Saxon world; their whole conscious life is in words. The architect, the painter, the sculptor, the actor, the servants of all but the two muses of music and literature, have at their disposal signs and materials which make plasticity an essential result. To arrive at the same effect in prose literature is the mark of the highest art. Mr James has achieved it in his later books, from 'The Ambassadors' to 'The Golden Bowl,' and it is this achievement which makes them, in spite of the more accessible charm of his earlier novels, the significant and the original part of his work. The subtle blending of the material, the 'effects' that have gone to the making of the firm, rounded rightness of such books as 'The Wings of the Dove' and 'The Ambassadors,' are no doubt one with the processes of assimilation and utilisation for organic ends that take place within tree or animal. Mr James evolves his creations by the same instinct as that of so-called unconscious 'Nature'; and in this connexion one is led back to the intrinsic mystery of the work of art, the fact that it is always, in the last analysis, a product of individual conditions, and that no *novum organum* of criticism such as Taine devised can ever explain or forecast it. Mr James, in writing of the influence of the Concord *milieu* on Emerson, says, 'He drew half his images, we recognise, from the revolution



of its seasons and the play of its manners.' But he goes on: 'I don't speak of the other half, which he drew from elsewhere.' What a man draws 'from elsewhere' is that element of personal inspiration—what Emerson himself called 'the alien energy'—which makes the inscrutability of his genius and its life-bestowing power. M. Jusserand has spoken of Shakespeare as 'un grand distributeur de vie,' and this strange vivifying faculty is the central mystery of art. In the great literary artist it results in the creation of things so living that they are actually beautiful to look upon. Books like 'The Wings of the Dove' and 'The Golden Bowl' may, in fact, be contemplated, looked at, and not only read.

Indestructibility of form is the inalienable mark of great work. It has hitherto, in English, at least, been the one superiority that great poetry, that of Milton, say, or Keats, has had over great prose utterance. But Mr James has shown that prose may have not only as fine a form as verse, but even a more genuine, compacter plasticity, in which all the 'effects'—of sound, of colour, of vision—are reciprocally inter-subordinate, marvellously fused as in some noble building or great music.

So deep is the unity of any fine work of art that one should never read Mr James for a first, but only for a second, time. It takes time to read him at all, as it takes time to read anything, not merely the great thing. It is the happy 'pull' that the painter or the architect has over the writer, that they can present their finished product whole to an eye capable of taking it in; whereas, foreshorten as he may, the novelist has to put up with the fact that he must transfer his emotions and his thought to a kind of map of Mercator's projection, and yet, amid all these essentially wrong perspectives, produce the right effect of roundness and solidity. Some of the great novelists shirk the problem altogether, others seem profoundly unconscious of it and go on *ad infinitum* mapping out longitudinally, as in the case of that supremely entertaining story, 'Anna Karénine.' There are none but purely artificial reasons why even such masterpieces as 'Anna Karénine' or 'The Chartreuse de Parme' or 'The House of Mirth' or 'Harry Richmond' or 'Vanity Fair' should ever end.

Such books as 'Eugénie Grandet' or 'The Golden  
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Bowl' are not the fruit of invention alone, but of imagination, an imagination nourished on that experience which puts the man or woman capable of it in possession of the faculty that made Lowell call Shakespeare 'one of God's spies.' This imaginative sympathy—the love which, as Mr James himself notes, Balzac had for his characters—enables the first-rate artist to feel *with* the creatures of his making, to see the world through their eyes. Balzac wrote in 'Honorine':

'Les drames de la vie ne sont pas dans les circonstances; ils sont dans les sentiments, ou, si vous voulez, dans ce monde immense que nous devons nommer le monde spirituel.'

And, in Mr James's case, the aspects of life most commonly present are its entanglements, its embarrassments. Fate is for ever stating problems, but seldom gives any clue to an answer. The chances it gives us all for throwing up the sponge a thousand times a day no doubt form the very warp and woof of our absurd existence. But they form as well the entire comic material of the tissue, and a man whose business it is to represent the spectacle of things can never tire of counting them. No phrase occurs more often—it is a sort of *leit-motiv* of composition—in a novel of Mr James than the typical one marking his amused and wondering halt before each fresh case of the ubiquity, the inevitability of the human plight. The phrase is, 'There you are!' If only 'situations' and plights were regular decagons! But they all have so many facets, and the probity of the novelist is in being blind to none of them, and in turning his tale on its pivot in such a manner that as many as possible are presented to the reader's eye. An example of the difficulty and of its solution is given in such a cry as this, from the feminine leader of the chorus in 'The Golden Bowl.' 'She doesn't deliberately intend, she doesn't consciously wish, the least complication,' says Mrs Assingham to her matter-of-fact husband, as they are speculating in real dismay on the possible consequences of Charlotte's unexpected arrival. 'It's perfectly true that she thinks Maggie a dear—as who doesn't? She's incapable of any *plan* to hurt a hair of her head. Yet here she is, and there *they* are!'

When one recognises that so much of an artist's

material is substance of this expensive sort, it is a little easier to solve the question which Mr James himself raised in his lecture on Balzac, and which his own case puts just as insistently, namely, how a man can find time, not merely to write so much of such a quality, but, while writing so much, to see and study life. Mr James answers the question by saying that Balzac quarried his material within himself. But if the artist obtains this knowledge within himself, what guarantee has the reader that he is getting the real thing, life itself. Obviously none, save the tests that his own experience can bring to bear on the finished representation. But it is just the mark of the great artists that they triumphantly meet this test and do what is called inspire conviction. That failure to self-saturate is a mark of intellectual disloyalty, is just as much the lesson of Mr James as it is of Balzac or Shakespeare. And the fact of self-saturation is the key to the mystery of a man's finding time to absorb so much life and give it back in so many books. For the brain that 'intends upon itself' instead of shifting about like a reporter with a note-book—granting it the initial gift of imaginative divination—that brain has only to sit quietly and to record what it sees and knows. And it is precisely the brain of that special stamp which, seeing and knowing a million things intuitively, where the less endowed know only piecemeal and empirically, can dispense with the cruder, slower methods of acquisition, since it is the brain of genius.

How much genius can 'give' is a question in physico-chemistry, analogous with that of the 'work' to be got out of an engine or a dynamo. An infinitude of automatic reactions, syntheses, elaborations, may take place in the subconsciousness; but evidently nothing takes place, or next to nothing, if the machine is a poor one. The first distinction of superior minds is that they not only see more alertly, instantly, untiringly, than the average intelligence, *but that they see a great deal more*, the word 'see' possessing here no figurative meaning, nor any sense more mystical than that implied by the mere physical fact of vision. The second distinction is that they never *see* anything without feeling it. This faculty of storing up in the brain a latent emotive energy, a complex precipitate of perception in being, is what Mr James

has called 'the mystery and the marvel of experience,' an accretion that 'may amount to an enormous sum, even when the figures on the slate are too few and too paltry to mention. It may count for enrichment without one's knowing why.' With the average nerve-stuff of the crowd it ordinarily counts for very little. The average human reactions are of a melodramatic positiveness and an unironic sentimentality; and all these feelings hang grotesquely asunder, or, at best, are reciprocally attached by a very meagre set of associative guide-ropes. In a mind like that of Mr James, on the contrary, every element of the spectacle of life is an occasion for representation, and every representation a complex incentive to immediate artistic creation. The spectacle of Mr James's intelligence at work, transmuting his experience into literature, might be compared with the mysterious processes of radio-activity. Nature, the world, life, impinge on, punctuate, his consciousness with a myriad of tiny unmeaning holes, and that consciousness has the magic capacity of transmuting these perforations, these nothings, into intelligible signs. The whole interior shiver determined by the ceaselessly beating waves of sensations, all the trembling consequences of each thud of the wave, its impact on the stored-up and beautifully classified images of his older sensations, all are automatically noted, translated and read out by this 'restless analyst' as by a Pollak receptor. A consciousness so completely alive is the rarest state of human activity. Operations of this nature have, of course, all their interest in proportion as the dim richness of the internal glow penetrates a larger and larger deposit of sensations. .

When the mind in question glows with a larger number of stored-up images of anterior perceptions than are wont to be deposited in any save the most sensitive brain-stuff, every fresh onset of outside sensation produces a wondrously chromatic emotional atmosphere; and when that mind is the mind of a novelist, and of such a novelist as Henry James, his own account of his *feeling*, his report on the aspect of the shifting phenomena within, results necessarily in the ordered beauty of those complex renderings of life, his novels of the last ten years.

MORTON FULLERTON.

## Art. 5.—SOCIALISM.

## I. ITS MEANING AND ORIGIN.

1. *The Quintessence of Socialism.* By Dr A. Schäffle. Translated from the eighth German edition by Bernard Bosanquet, LL.D. London: Sonnenschein, 1889.
2. *A History of Socialism.* By Thomas Kirkup. Third edition. London: Black, 1906.
3. *Das Philosophisch-ökonomische System des Marxismus.* Von Dr Emil Hammacher. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1909.
4. *L'Individualisme économique et social.* Par Albert Schatz. Paris: Armand Colin, 1907.
5. *Le Socialisme.* Par Mermeix. Paris: Ollendorf, 1906.
6. *Histoire du Socialisme Français.* Par Paul Louis. Paris: 'Revue Blanche,' 1901.
7. *Capital.* By Karl Marx. London: Sonnenschein, 1908.
8. *Socialism in Church History.* By Conrad Noel. London: Palmer, 1910.
9. *Socialism and Modern Thought.* By M. Kaufmann. London: Methuen, 1895.
10. *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour.* By Dr Anton Menger; with introduction by Prof. H. S. Foxwell. London: Macmillan, 1899.
11. *Collectivism.* By P. Leroy Beaulieu. Translated by Sir Arthur Clay. London: Murray, 1908.
12. *A Critical Examination of Socialism.* By W. H. Mallock. London: Murray, 1908.
13. *Socialism in Theory and Practice.* By Morris Hillquit. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1909.

OF all the 'isms' invented by man for his edification or his torment, none has excited so much controversy and produced so much confusion of thought, none is so variable and elastic in meaning, none so slippery and elusive, as Socialism. It presents so many aspects, embraces so many conceptions and touches so many interests that it is, if not all things to all men, something to every man, and something different from each point of view. It is both abstract and concrete, theoretical and practical; it is a philosophy, a religion, an ethical scheme, an interpretation of history, an imagi-

native vision, an economic theory, a juristic concept, a popular movement, a philanthropic ideal, a political programme, a revolution, an evolution, a class war, the end of strife, a greedy scramble, a gospel of love, a gospel of hate, the bright hope of mankind, a dark menace to society, the dawn of the millennium, and a frightful catastrophe—as you choose to regard it.

And as if these different views were not bewildering enough, the subject is further complicated by the practice, of which advocates and opponents are both guilty, of identifying Socialism with anything to which it bears any resemblance, and applying the name to all actions and ideas which have, or ever have had, anything in common with it. For instance, it aims at brotherly love and the elevation of mankind; therefore it is one with Christianity which has the same aims. Or, it involves State action for the benefit of the poor; therefore, any State action for their benefit is socialistic. Thus it is indistinguishable from 'social reform'; and we are said to be 'all Socialists now.' Again, it stands for justice, for equality, for sympathy; and straightway a host of moralists, from Plato onwards, who have discoursed of these ideals for hundreds of years before the thing was invented, are discovered to be Socialists. It would interfere with the free play of commercial activity and favour one section at the expense of another; protective tariffs do so too, and are therefore in the same boat. Or, to take the other side, it would revolutionise the social order, and is therefore held to be in line with all other revolutionary and lawless forces. It denies the rights of property and preaches the doctrines which criminals merely practise; the relationship is obvious. In short, by this method of reasoning, those who incline to Socialism can claim the support of almost everything that is good, and those who oppose it are equally free to maintain its connexion with everything bad.

To find a way out of these labyrinthine confusions it is necessary to start at the centre and grasp the clue which lies there.

All forms of Socialism have one element in common; all discussions upon it circle round one central idea; all proposals made in its name start from the same point and aim at the same goal, however different the roads

may be by which they would reach it. This common element and central idea is the economic state of society; the starting-point of every Socialist system is the present defective state, its objective is a future better one. All the varied and multitudinous forms in which the subject presents itself have this at their core; they are merely different modes of expression determined by the temperament and intellectual bent of their authors or advocates. The imaginative man brings his fancy to bear; he pictures a new society, and you get the Utopias; the philosophic mind seeks an explanation of the present evils and their remedy in abstract principles, and produces treatises on justice, social evolution, and the like; the religious temperament seizes on the aspect congenial to itself and brings in an old religion, as with Christian Socialism, or invents a new one, such as the New Christianity, the New Moral World, or the religion of Humanity; the legal intellect is preoccupied with the juristic basis, and gives us disquisitions on the right to subsistence, the right to the whole produce of labour, and so forth; the economist analyses capital, wages, rent, etc., and their bearing on the problem; the politician turns to legislation or administration, draws up programmes, and organises parties; the prophet cries his message in the market-place and leads a devoted band of followers to found a new community in the wilderness; the practical man forms associations and starts co-operative systems; the fanatic, with his head full of revolution, urges violence, plots, conspiracies and assassinations; the mere sentimentalist sees a vague prospect of satisfying his altruistic emotions more fully than by personal effort, and becomes a subscriber to the cause; the needy, the discontented, the lazy and the envious see the promise of getting something for themselves and welcome it; conversely, the well-to-do, the selfish and the idle see the menace of giving up something and dread it.

But all of them—all who take an active interest in Socialism, whether for or against, or as dispassionate students—are concerned with the same thing at bottom, and that is the economic structure of society, the distribution of wealth, poverty and riches. This is not the whole of the subject-matter, because to many the economic factor is only the means to an end. Their



ultimate aim is the elevation of mankind, moral and spiritual as well as physical; but they regard a change in the economic relations of men as an indispensable step, because they see in the present relations the source of all, or nearly all, the evils that afflict mankind to-day. Primarily and fundamentally, Socialism is an economic question, as Schäffle long ago pointed out, and as Mr Kirkup, in common with every recent writer, admits in his 'History of Socialism.' To put it in another way, if there were no poverty or no riches there would be no Socialism. For that reason its object is sometimes said to be equality, and in a limited sense that is true. But it is only economic equality that is aimed at. No Socialist has ever proposed to make people equally tall or equally strong or equally clever. The proposal rather is to abolish or minimise the economic results arising from these and other inequalities; but many Socialists have long abandoned the idea of even economic equality. It would be more correct to say that the aim of Socialism is the more equal distribution of wealth.

Similarly with the other abstract ideas associated with Socialism. Justice is one of them; but only economic justice is in question. That is seen from the juridical treatment of the subject, which deals only with rights relating to property, work, subsistence. The object from this point of view may be said to be the equitable distribution of wealth. Or again, where Socialism is regarded as a principle opposed to Individualism, only economic individualism is thought of; other forms have dropped out of view or are explicitly and even vehemently excluded. In short, from whatever standpoint the question is approached, the economic content emerges as the central, essential and dominant element. The connexion of politics is merely that of a means toward the economic end.

This will seem to many a mere truism hardly worth stating; but, like other truisms, it conceals a truth which is by no means recognised. Why did this great economic agitation arise in the last century? The explanation usually given and accepted is that it arose out of what is called the industrial revolution. That is particularly elaborated by Marx in connexion with his theory of capital, and is recognised by Schäffle in his 'Quintessence



of Socialism.' 'The question,' he says, 'is the result of a fundamental revolution in the organisation of the social circulation of products, an economic phenomenon which grew out of the destruction of the system of small producers and small traders.' But, though this change has undoubtedly played a large part in stimulating the movement and giving it direction, especially under the influence of Marx, it does not account for the origin, which was quite independent of any such condition. The earliest preliminary signs of the movement appeared long before the industrial change began; some of its most prominent early advocates acted under entirely different influences; and it was in full swing in France before the industrial revolution—which has never to this day been completed there—had fairly begun. Moreover, the conditions of poverty and misery, which Socialism sets out to cure, existed long before the rise of mechanical power, of the grand industry, and of capitalistic development; they existed, in fact, in a far greater degree. Lastly, if the 'factory system' were the cause, the movement would have arisen among the employed, as trade unionism actually did under that influence; whereas Socialism made its appearance from above as a message to the labouring population and a campaign waged on their behalf, which indeed they have only been induced to take up for themselves with difficulty in recent times, and that under more educated leadership.

We must seek for a larger explanation of this remarkable phenomenon; and it is not difficult to find if we fix our attention on the real and essential character of the movement and ignore the elaborate obscurations accumulated round it by ingenious minds.

The economic structure of society, with which Socialism is essentially concerned, governs the material, physical conditions of life; its importance lies in that. But the growing attention paid to these conditions extends far beyond the range of this particular agitation; it is common to the whole of our civilisation. It represents a great pandemic ferment, of which Socialism is merely a particular manifestation. The metaphor is appropriate enough to justify a little fuller application.

Fermentation is a gradual process of change produced in certain composite substances by the introduction of a

living agent. The substance is broken up, its constituent elements are regrouped and reunited in a different order, which gives the whole mass a new and different character. Often gas is generated in the process, and it may be mistaken for the chief reaction. It is part of the process, but a minor and non-essential part, though perhaps for a time more conspicuous than the deeper general change underneath. The gas passes off while the real effect remains; but if the fermentation is too rapid and a great deal of gas accumulates, or if it is not allowed to escape, it may cause an explosion.

The present fermentation concerns the economic structure of human society. It has been preceded by two others of a like pandemic character, the first religious, the second intellectual; both have caused profound and permanent changes in human society. There is another sort of ferment—the political; but it is of a different order—partial, local, irregular, transient, and recurrent. It is rather mechanical than vital, though often of great importance in expressing or giving effect to deeper and more subtle changes. The three great ferments correspond to the three elements in human nature—the spiritual, the intellectual, and the physical—and they represent three stages in civilisation. It is at least possible that all preceding civilisations have gone through corresponding stages. In the first the dominant force is supernatural; the great concern is the soul, and hopes are centred on future happiness. In the second the dominant force is intellectual; the great concern is the mind, and hopes are centred on knowledge. In the third the dominant force is material; the great concern is the body, and hopes are centred on physical well-being. The first is the age of faith, the second the age of reason or science, the third the age of wealth.

The order is not accidental; the three form a sequence, one preparing the way for the next. Our civilisation begins with Christianity; and during the first period the Church was, by virtue of historical succession, the natural repository, guardian and nursery of learning when it disappeared from public and private life. The revival of intellectual culture reveals literature and art saturated and inspired by religious feeling. The intellectual movement which followed led directly to the economic ferment

of to-day. The pursuit of knowledge, turned to the mastery of nature in the service of man, produced those vast material changes which we are never tired of extolling, and with them wealth and comfort such as men did not dream of in previous ages. These things, being brought within reach, became the objects of universal desire and ousted other ideals from their supremacy. At the same time the advance of the biological branches of science caused constantly increasing importance to be attached to the physical side of human nature and its needs, and the acquisition of innumerable means for lessening pain and discomfort and promoting ease tended constantly to raise the standard. 'Progress' came to be measured in terms of material wealth and of the bodily ease to which it ministers.

It is not suggested, of course, that the material and physical were wholly ignored in the previous stages of civilisation. They could not be because life depends on them. In a precivilised state they are everything, and they remain a permanent factor when the ferment of ideas produces the change which we call civilisation. But their place is altered. Thus the Fathers of the Church laid stress on the sanctity of the body, and the religious orders paid considerable attention to material conditions and the relief of suffering; but the body was generally held of no account compared with the soul. Martyrs, ascetics and anchorites sought and welcomed suffering and death for its sake. The great and powerful submitted to penances and cheerfully encountered such astonishing hardships as those incurred by the Crusaders in the service of religion. Some mortification of the flesh was part of the regular routine and universally thought meritorious; sickness and death, even of the most painful kind, were accepted with resignation as the common lot; and the ideal of ease, beyond eating and drinking, occupied men's minds hardly at all. The small regard for the body explains why people were able to inflict upon each other the most atrocious pains, such as we can hardly bear to think of, far less witness. It was an entirely different thing to them; their thoughts were fixed on something else, and such proceedings as burning people alive for the sake of the faith hardly shocked anybody. They certainly did not shock the common

people who flocked to the spectacle and thoroughly enjoyed it. They carried the burning of witches on their own account down to a much later period. There are good reasons for believing that nerves were much less sensitive, as among more primitive peoples now.

During the period of intellectual ferment men still displayed complete indifference to physical conditions which seem quite intolerable to us. They plunged lightly into war and thought very little of the sufferings it caused. Surgery was torture. Sanitation did not exist. Personal cleanliness was almost unknown, and all the world lived habitually in conditions of dirt, darkness, stench, and discomfort, which we can hardly realise. Even short journeys were attended with hardships and frequently with dangers that few would or could face to-day. The most luxurious travel by land was on horse-back or in some rough vehicle over shocking roads, and must have entailed such hardships from exposure and fatigue that we wonder how women could stand it. As for the sea, princesses and queens had to endure more in crossing the Channel than labourers do now in crossing the Atlantic. But the point is not that they endured it, but that they thought very little of it. Hardships, as we regard them, were seldom mentioned, and life was cheap. It is surprising how little reference there is to physical conditions of any kind, except food and drink, in literature before the end of the eighteenth century. Voltaire's letters from England well show the indifference to them even in the eighteenth century. He was the intellectual archetype of his time, a man of the most alert mind and a great observer, with some notions of 'progress' in the modern sense; and his letters from England, written between 1728 and 1731, were intended to describe the country to his friends at home. He hardly mentions any physical conditions at all, such as would immediately engage the attention of any intelligent traveller to-day, but is intensely interested in the intellectual movement. The brutal punishments of the time, the treatment of prisoners in gaol, of lunatics and hospital patients, merely reflected the general indifference.

It is not necessary to point out the vast material changes effected in the nineteenth century, though much knowledge and thought are required in order to realise

how exceedingly numerous and all-pervading they are. Everybody recognises them in a general way. But what is not recognised is the immense change in the point of view which has accompanied them, and the supreme importance which has gradually come to be attached to material conditions and the care of the body. The whole range of 'social' questions, which occupy ever-increasing attention, to the relative eclipse of all others, are more or less closely connected with physical conditions, and most of them are concerned entirely with bodily welfare in some form or other. Public health, sanitation, housing, factory conditions, infant mortality, women's employment, children's employment, hours of work, rates of wages, accidents, unemployment, pauperism, old-age pensions, sickness, infirmity, lunacy, feeble-mindedness, intemperance, prostitution, physical deterioration; all these and many others are physical questions; they have to do with the body and material conditions. The innumerable nostrums of health culture, patent foods and dieting belong to the same order of thought. Even in education, which used to be regarded as a mental business, the physical pushes ever more to the front and threatens to usurp the principal share of attention. The objection to flogging and any form of corporal punishment, the indulgence of children, the coddling of schoolboys and the general dread of the slightest hardships, are other signs of the tendency. It is in the same spirit that, at the last conference of the Labour party, a resolution was proposed and accepted that the Government grant for elementary education should be apportioned according to the physical needs of the children.

X In all this it is not the evils, needs or problems that are new, as people often suppose, but the recognition of them. The golden age, when there was no bad housing or infant mortality or employment of women and children, etc., never existed except in the pages of romance. On the contrary, the conditions of life were in all, or almost all, respects incomparably worse in the past. We know they have greatly improved within our own experience. Yet the more they improve the louder and more urgent the demand for further improvement, which clearly shows the changing point of view and the growing attention paid to the claims of the body. The soul and

the mind are not ignored ; but just as religion, which had been supreme, became secondary and eventually quite subordinate to knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so both are now becoming subordinate to physical well-being. The working view to-day is that until the body is satisfied nothing can be done for soul or mind. The old view was that the welfare, first of the one, and afterwards of the other, could and ought to be secured without reference to the body, which was rather to be disciplined and subdued than cared for, beyond bare subsistence, and was certainly not allowed to stand in the way of more important interests. In philosophy the change of view is seen in the rise of materialism, which regards soul and mind, the moral and intellectual parts of man's being, as mere expressions of the physical. And the same change is expressed in another and more general way by the remarkable interest taken in economics, the once 'dismal science,' which is becoming the most engrossing and popular of studies, because its subject-matter is the means of securing or promoting material welfare. Indeed the present tendency is to go further and further in the same direction, and to value all things in proportion as they minister to the needs of the body. That is conspicuously the case with science, which is extolled for the services it renders to our material existence, the additions it makes to health, comfort, and convenience. Its success is measured in terms of those things, and its pursuit is justified on those grounds. The mind is the recognised servant of the body ; the ideal is changed.

This great fermentative process, which has changed our views of life and given to material conditions an importance previously unrecognised, has produced effects peculiar to itself and very different from those attending the earlier ferments, because its subject-matter differs from theirs. The question of diffusion assumes an entirely different aspect. Recognition of the need or desirability of a thing involves diffusion. Some who have it not desire to enjoy it ; others who have it are eager to help them. This was the case both with religion and knowledge, and still is, though not in an equal degree. But their diffusion was comparatively easy, because the sources are inexhaustible, and the more they are drawn upon the more they yield. No one by drawing

deprives another of a drop. Moreover, there are many who do not desire to draw and on whom the boon is forced. But with material welfare the case is just the opposite. The supply is limited, and all desire to draw; and the consequence is a great turmoil.

Misconception on this point is common. It is constantly assumed by those who are eager to help the have-nots, and to diffuse the general wealth among the mass of the people, that the sympathy and love of mankind thus shown are new and characteristic of our age, a proof of progress. That is not so. Sympathy and love of mankind have been exercised with far greater devotion in the past, but on different objects. It is not the desire to diffuse blessings that is new, but the kind of blessings. At the same time there are certain other differences in the situation which must not be overlooked. Religion and knowledge are personal things; wealth, which is the means of procuring material well-being, is social; its production and its distribution are social operations. So a new set of problems arises, calling for new forces and new methods for their solution. Here the political element comes in as an instrument for effecting that diffusion of material good which becomes insistent with the recognition of its value. Hence the general movement towards more democratic forms of government.

Out of this turmoil arises Socialism. It is a particular manifestation of the general ferment, an extreme expression of the broad tendency towards social and economic reorganisation which marks our time and has been set going by the forces explained above. It represents a certain temperament, one extremely sensitive to material conditions and at the same time highly sympathetic and eager to put right those material evils of which it is conscious. In saying this we are speaking of sincere and earnest Socialists, such as have all along inspired the movement, not of self-seeking demagogues who choose to call themselves by that name. The typical Socialist is a man of high aims; he wishes to benefit his fellow-creatures, and he is absolutely certain that he knows exactly how to do it. He is so sensitive and so sympathetic that he cannot bear even to think of any one suffering physical pain or even discomfort; and he is so certain of the efficacy of his cure that he burns to apply



it. He yearns to see all the world comfortable, as a missionary yearns to see it Christian, and for the same reason; he believes that his is not merely the best but the only way to elevate mankind and make them truly happy. To regard Socialists, if any still do, as a crowd of tatterdemalions bent on plunder is to misunderstand the movement. It stands for the tatterdemalions, though not for them only, and on its worst side often promises them plunder; but its founders and leaders have never been of that class themselves, nor has their motive been their own benefit. From Sir Thomas More, who uttered the first visionary presage of the coming movement, down to the present day, their leading motives have been sympathy with the victims of poverty and physical suffering, and an ardent desire to relieve them.

To say this is to do no more than justice to men who have been much misunderstood. But the recognition of their motives must be accompanied by some qualifications. They did not invent those motives, and they have no monopoly of them, as they too often assume; they only have a particular plan for giving effect to them. And further, their benign intentions have a reverse side, being very often, though not necessarily, accompanied by a spirit of bitter hatred, not only against institutions and ideas, but also against persons, against anything which stands or seems to stand in the way. Fierceness and scorn are common characteristics of the propaganda, though there are exceptions. They arise in a large measure from extreme impatience to see its realisation. And there is one other point to be mentioned here, closely connected with that character. The taunt that Socialists want to do good at somebody else's expense is not wholly just, but it has some justification which really cuts very deep. They do not sacrifice themselves in the way missionaries have always done, and men of science often; they do not embrace poverty and face hardship, danger and death for the cause. Some pioneers have undergone persecution, and here and there a man of exceptional fervour may devote himself to the cause and give up money, leisure and health; but that is no more than thousands do for all sorts of causes. The fantastic little communities which have been started from time to time to put the principles in practice may involve something



more, but they are not typical of Socialism, and are indeed now repudiated rather contemptuously as not representing it at all according to the prevalent interpretation of the word. Personal action is foreign and even antagonistic to the whole idea, which involves a complete change of 'system,' a reconstruction of the social order. When that is accomplished it is assumed that every unit will act spontaneously in accordance with the lofty principles enunciated; but the theory does not demand such conduct from Socialists under the existing order.

Here again temperament is apparent. They want to change things and people quickly, completely, easily, at one stroke. Hypersensitiveness makes them acutely conscious of evils, and an emotional optimism enables them to realise vividly the regenerated order in anticipation; and since it is much easier to change things than people, they press eagerly in that direction. There are degrees of eagerness and confidence. Rodbertus, for instance, thought the change would take centuries, and the more thoughtful and dispassionate advocates of Socialism in general are now less confident of immediate realisation. Of late an intellectual school has grown up, largely influenced by the modern doctrine of evolution, which looks to gradual change and regards the coming of Socialism as part of a great general and irresistible process. So they say; but it is to be noted that they are not less active in propaganda than the simpler-minded and more direct sects, which is somewhat inconsistent with belief in an irresistible and gradual process. They appear as self-confessed flies on the wheel, conscious of their position, yet pushing with all their might and crying to the other flies, 'Come, push! and make it go round.' And their object too is to alter external conditions by a mechanical rearrangement, in the confident belief that this will produce the desired effect.

Viewed in this broad light, Socialism is seen to be an extreme and extravagant expression of the movement of thought, distinctive of our time, which exalts the importance of the body, and consequently of external conditions affecting the body, and of the economic order or the distribution of wealth governing external conditions. Socialism makes them supreme, and the more pronounced and definite its form the more firmly and

fully does it maintain that position. To make this clear it is necessary to have a clear view of what Socialism is, and the only way to obtain one is to trace, in outline, its rise and progress.

We began by saying that it is both theoretical and practical. It proposes to do something; and this proposal, though inspired, like other actions, by feeling, is supported and shaped by reason, by doctrines, and arguments of various kinds—economic, legal, philosophical and religious; and it is illustrated or expounded by the aid of fancy sketches depicting an imaginary or a future society. All the exponents of Socialism fall into place quite clearly and naturally in one or other of these categories. In tracing its history it is advisable to keep in mind the distinction between theoretical and practical, between the sequence of thought and the development of purposeful organisation. Socialism can only be said to have come fully into existence with the latter; and therefore Mr Kirkup is so far right in making it begin with the efforts of Robert Owen in England and Saint-Simon in France in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. We know it as a movement, an organised attempt to do something; and these men, though their ideas were incoherent and their grasp of the principles involved extremely defective, so that they hardly saw what they were doing, nevertheless did set the movement going with precisely the broad aim of modern Socialism, namely, the elevation of mankind by the economic and social reconstruction of society. They got people to work at it, and the word 'Socialist' was coined to label their followers in the year 1833. It occurs in the following passage:

'The Socialist, who preaches of community of goods, abolition of crime, of punishment, of magistrates and marriage, is accounted equally deranged as the followers of Richard Brothers or Joanna Southcote.'

The reference is to the Saint-Simonians, and the passage occurs in 'The Crisis,' an Owenite journal, from which it was quoted in the 'Poor Man's Guardian.' The word *Socialisme* first appeared in the previous year in 'Le Globe,' a daily newspaper with the sub-title 'Journal de la Religion Saint-Simonienne.' The word 'religion'

was originally 'doctrine,' which was changed in 1831. 'Le Globe' was a regular newspaper containing ordinary intelligence, and much larger and fuller than most French daily papers to-day, but conducted by the followers of Saint-Simon, who died in 1825, and specially devoted to expounding his doctrines, or rather theirs. The word *Socialisme* occurs in the course of a review, by X. Joncières, of Victor Hugo's volume of poems, 'Les Feuilles d'Automne,' and is used in a general sense.

'Nous ne voulons pas sacrifier la personnalité au socialisme, pas plus que ce dernier à la personnalité.'

The contrasted words were italicised as though to indicate novelty. In the course of the next two or three years both 'Socialism' and 'Socialist' became freely applied to the doctrines of Saint-Simon in France and to those of Owen in England, and to their respective followers. Neither exercised a lasting influence or had a continuous connexion with later Socialism; but they were the beginnings of organised effort to realise aspirations identical with it in essence, though not in form; and it was this concrete character which attracted public attention and gave the movement they represented sufficient definition to deserve a special appellation, which remained and lived. It is significant of the fermentative nature of the movement that these manifestations, which differed widely in form, arose simultaneously, but quite independently, in France and in England. No historical review of Socialism can neglect the phase which gave birth to the name, and Mr Kirkup is justified in beginning with it, though he, in common with other writers, states the facts regarding the origin of the word inaccurately. But strictly speaking, Gracchus Babeuf, who organised the insurrection of 'Les Égaux' in 1796, was the first practical Socialist. He and his friends aimed at completing the work of the French Revolution by establishing an economic commune. The manifesto drawn up for them declared for 'le bien commun ou la communauté des biens,' and the maxims issued by the committee included the following:

'Nul n'a pu, sans crime, s'approprier exclusivement les biens de la terre et de l'industrie. Dans une véritable société il ne doit y avoir ni riches ni pauvres. La Révolution n'est pas

finie parce que les riches absorbent tous les biens et commandent exclusivement, tandis que les pauvres travaillent en véritables esclaves, et languissent dans la misère.'

Babeuf went further. He was a Collectivist in almost the modern sense, and had a clear conception of the plan of collective ownership which has been adopted by the vast majority of Socialists to-day. He proposed the following steps, among others :

'Réunir toutes les richesses actuelles sous la main de la république ;

'Faire travailler tous les citoyens valides, chacun suivant sa capacité et ses habitudes actuelles ;

'Réunir continuellement dans les dépôts publics toutes les productions de la terre et de l'industrie ;

'Distribuer également les productions et les plaisirs ;

'Tarir la source de toute propriété et de tout commerce particulier et leur substituer une distribution sage, confiée à l'autorité publique.'

With the exceptions of equal distribution and the complete extinction of private property, all these proposals are those of State Collectivism as understood to-day. But the organised attempt to give effect to them was a detached, violent, short-lived effort, summarily extinguished in 1797, when Babeuf was beheaded on the scaffold.

The real pedigree of modern Socialism, however, is to be found, not with the organisers, but with the thinkers, and its roots can be traced back a long way. Anton Menger and Professor Foxwell agree in regarding Godwin, whose 'Political Justice' appeared in 1793, as 'the first scientific Socialist of modern times, in whom are to be found in germ all the ideas of modern Socialism and anarchism.' His book was the first systematic work on the principles underlying the movement ; but of course many of the root ideas found expression in the isolated utterances of numerous predecessors in the eighteenth, seventeenth, and even the sixteenth century, or still earlier, without going back to antiquity. The customs of the Spartans and other small groups of people in ancient times are interesting as illustrations, but they belong to earlier civilisations and have no historical connexion with Socialism, which is an economic problem

of our own very different age. The doctrines expounded in the New Testament, however, and the denunciations of private property and wealth by the Fathers, which Mr Conrad Noel has put together in a very effective way, have a real bearing on the subject, because they embody the teaching of the Church on the moral principles involved, which are as applicable to-day as ever. The ideas about property disseminated by John Ball in the popular risings of the fourteenth century were no doubt derived from this source, and St Augustine's 'Civitas Dei' had a good deal to do with the shaping of More's 'Utopia,' which appeared in 1516. This is the first utterance which can be continuously connected with the great ferment of our own time. It is wholly inspired by the existing economic evils, the oppression exercised by the rich: 'Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to ingross and forestal and with their monopoly to keep the market alone as please them.' And it points out the consequent poverty, unemployment, and demoralisation.

'Wheresoever possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke (has all the influence), it is hard and almost impossible that there the weal public may justly be governed and prosperously flourish. Unless you think . . . that prosperity there flourishes where all is divided among a few; which few nevertheless do not lead their lives very wealthily and the residue live miserably, wretchedly and beggarly.'

Here is the very language of Socialism, the premiss from which every Socialist starts, 250 years before the beginning of the industrial revolution; economic disorder individual greed, the few rich, the many poor, and general demoralisation in consequence. And the remedy, set out in the island of Utopia, is mainly economic; common, instead of private, ownership. More had the temperament; he was sympathetic, sensitive and worried about material conditions; he took note of them, and wanted to see them improved, not on abstract, but on actual and concrete grounds. He was in this respect before his time, a forerunner, a seer, a voice crying in the wilderness. The 'Utopia' excited interest chiefly as an imaginative romance, even among More's friends, including such noble spirits as Erasmus and Colet, who were preoccupied with religion and learning, though Erasmus does refer to

the oppressed condition of the poor and denounces greed. Still, the 'Utopia' marked the beginning of an epoch. It was a notable period, a junction of forces, a mingling of ferments in different stages, and all represented in More's person. The intellectual ferment was in full activity, already superseding the religious, then on the wane, and leading to the emancipation of individual judgment in Protestantism, which was to lead to individualism as a political, and later as an economic doctrine, a point on which Mr Kaufmann lays stress in his thoughtful little book; and at the same time a tiny rill was beginning to trickle out of the ground, eventually to grow in volume until it submerged both. The 'Utopia' was really the beginning of the study of economics. Industrial activity was already highly developed in Italy and in Flanders; and the 'Utopia,' most of which was written in Flanders, was largely inspired by the superior material conditions that More saw there.

X This book is therefore doubly connected with Socialism. It expressed the impulse of dissatisfaction, the aspiration towards improvement and, broadly, the means; and it marked the dawn of economics, of which Socialism is a phase. The fact that the first work dealing with economic questions should have been of this character is very interesting. But the socialistic side remained long in abeyance after More's solitary effort, whereas the study of political economy developed continuously from this time onward. About 1549 John Hales wrote his 'Discourse of the Common Weal,' and not many years later the long and distinguished line of Italian economists began to make their appearance, with studies on the subject of money and exchange. In the next century economic writings became more numerous, though not yet of a systematic character, and the foundations of some of the great doctrines or fallacies were laid. One of these was the doctrine of Individualism, the history of which is traced with great knowledge, acumen and sanity of judgment by Professor Schatz in the valuable work mentioned at the head of this article. Another was the theory on which the economic structure of Socialism has been built up, that 'labour' produces all commodities and is therefore the determining constituent of value. The acute and powerful mind of Hobbes, though occupied with the

political, not the economic, structure of society, was in some sort the originator of both about the middle of the century. He laid what Professor Schatz calls the psychological basis of Individualism, and enunciated the dictum that 'plenty dependeth (next to God's favour) merely on the labour and industry of men.' A few years later Petty carried this further with the statement that 'it was the labour required for the production of commodities which determined their value'; and Locke argued the same proposition at greater length. About the same time the theory of the balance of trade was enunciated by Thomas Mun, who also uttered the first suggestion of the famous *laissez faire, laissez passer* of the Physiocrats in the next century.

These references sufficiently indicate the continuous development of interest in economic questions, but it was largely incidental, and the note of Socialism struck by More was conspicuously absent. In Campanella's 'Civitas Solis,' the second Utopian romance, published in 1623, community of goods and wives, short hours of work and a social spirit of brotherly love are described; but hierarchical government and zeal for education and learning are more prominent features of the ideal community. Knowledge, again, and especially science, is the great feature of Bacon's 'New Atlantis.' The attitude of these idealists shows the intellectual ferment in the ascendant. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, John Bellers, who is so often quoted by Marx, published his essays on the Poor, Manufactures, Trade, etc.; and in the eighteenth century some French writers entered the field and began to attack the institution of private property. They represent the first scattered utterances of theoretical Socialism, which sees in private property the root of all evil and in its abolition the only cure. The 'Testament' of the curé Jean Meslier, who died about 1730, was the earliest of these; it denounced private appropriation of natural riches and proposed common ownership. Morelly, in the middle of the century, pursued the same theme in greater detail; he enunciated the idea of collective utility, would have every man maintained, housed and occupied at the public expense, and would abolish buying and selling and exchange. Mably followed in the same direction with a more specific conception of State ownership,



and two or three others, including Montesquieu and Rousseau, contributed something to the stream, which was beginning to flow, though as yet nothing compared with the individualistic school of economics, at this time rising to its height. In England Spence advocated the nationalisation of land in 1775, and William Ogilvie wrote on the same subject in 1782. Then came the French Revolution, with its world-wide shock, and after that we see springs rising in all directions.

We have mentioned Babeuf, the first active Socialist. In Germany Hugo, the jurist, attacked private property in his '*Lehrbuch des Naturrechts*,' on juridical grounds; and Fichte, in his '*Geschlossene Handelsstaat*,' sketched a confused scheme for the public regulation of industry and of distribution. But it was in England that the line of thought was most effectively taken up again and the economic foundations of modern Socialism were really laid.

This brings us back to Godwin after a digression which, it is hoped, will sufficiently show the earlier currents of thought and the origin of the various conceptions lying at the back of the movement. They are seen emerging as scattered and tentative utterances of exceptional minds awakening to the importance of economic conditions and then revolting against the state of things around them, seeking an explanation and propounding a remedy. They gradually increase during the eighteenth century, until the shock of the great Revolution loosens the springs and sets free underground waters which had long been gathering. The contrast between poverty and riches was no new thing, but it acquired a new significance with the gradual appreciation of the material factor in life, and became the object of enquiry from different points of view. The discrepancy arises from property: what, then, is the nature of property? It violates the sense of justice, which involves the conception of rights: what are these rights? what are the mutual relations of society and the individual? It means inequality: is such inequality justified? It causes numerous evils: what are they? how and why does it cause them? what is the remedy, and how should effect be given to it? These are the sort of questions which presented themselves at this time. Socialism, not yet



born as a movement, emerged from the play of ideas as they became concentrated or focussed in the minds of ardent and sympathetic persons. To regard it as a working-class movement is to ignore its history and misunderstand its character. X

Godwin's 'Political Justice,' published in 1793, gathered up the threads of enquiry more comprehensively and in a more systematic form than any previous work or, indeed, any subsequent one. It starts with the existing evils of society, and goes on to show that they are due to public institutions, and are susceptible of cure. The evils are violence—exhibited by war, penal laws, and despotism—and the abuses connected with property, leading to extreme inequality of wealth, wretchedness of the poor, ostentation and oppression on the part of the rich, with the sequelæ of vice, crime and demoralisation. Here we have once more the invariable starting-point of all socialistic enquiry and effort. In the course of his enquiry into the causes of these things and the remedy for them, Godwin examines the principles of society, including justice, equality and rights; the principles of government and the relations of the individual to society; and he concludes by discussing the principles of property and indicating his idea of the solution of the problem and the form of the future society, which is an anarchical communism. He is no State Socialist, but the reverse. This follows logically from his view that human character is entirely formed by external circumstances, and that there is no free-will; place the individual in the right surroundings and he will do right; there is no need of compulsion. State control was abhorrent to Godwin and fatal to efficiency. 'Whatever each man does for himself,' he says, 'is done well; whatever his neighbours or his country undertake to do for him is done ill.' That is the difference between the anarchist and the collectivist type of Socialism. The former is obviously the more logical; for if men's evil passions are due to external conditions under the present system and will be abolished by changing it, there will be no need of compulsion or control. But this belongs to a later stage of the subject.

Godwin's work was an abstract treatise remote from every-day life, and it produced no immediate effect; but it

certainly influenced Owen, who based his 'New Moral World' on the theory that character is wholly determined by external circumstances, and that the moral responsibility taught by religion is a mischievous delusion, to which all human ills can be traced. This was the key to all his efforts, and he repeated it from Godwin, just as Mr Blatchford in turn repeats it from Owen to-day. His practical schemes also were based on the voluntary principle. But, as Prof. Foxwell has pointed out, the real line of succession was with the thinkers, not with Owen, who, though exceedingly verbose in argument, was rather a working philanthropist than a thinker. The men who really extracted the economic kernel of Socialism were a little band of English writers in the first third of the nineteenth century. Their work has been expounded with equal learning and insight by Anton Menger and Prof. Foxwell. The first of them was Charles Hall, a medical man, who was moved to take up the subject by personal experience among the poor. In 1805 he published a book on 'The Effects of Civilisation,' which paved the way to the coming indictment of capital. 'His central idea is that Wealth is Power over the labour of the poor, leading, under the then existing conditions, to inequality and oppression' (Foxwell). He suggested the conception which dominates the whole of Socialism to-day—that the patent evils about us are due to a great blind power in whose grasp we all are, a power which is now called 'the system.' Twenty years later came Thompson, Hodgskin, Edmonds, and Gray. These writers, and particularly Thompson, gave precision to the looser diagnosis of Godwin and Hall, and disentangled all the root ideas of the Marxian Social Democracy—the capitalist system resting on 'surplus value,' the exploitation and robbery of labour, the inequitable distribution of products, the evil effects of competition, the division and antagonism between productive and idle classes.

This extraordinarily active development of the theoretical basis of Socialism was stimulated on the one hand by Ricardo's version of the laws of orthodox political economy, which appeared in 1817, and on the other by Owen's propaganda which began about the same time. It was the revolt against Ricardo's doctrines which gave the long gathering movement the turn towards its present

shape and furnished it with the chief arguments it has used ever since. By the year 1831, just before the appearance of the word 'Socialism,' the doctrine had already taken form to a degree which has been forgotten since Marx, the great appropriator of other men's labour, came to dominate the scene. In that year William Carpenter, who has been unaccountably overlooked, formulated for popular use his principles of 'Social Economy,' which sum up in a set of concise propositions the then current opinions. The following extracts will show how far they had got towards the modern position.

'There is no species of wealth, or, in other words, no article of real and substantial value, that is not, more or less, the product of labour.

'By far the greater part of the population of the United Kingdom consists of persons who have no means of subsistence but those created by their own individual labour. . . . The labour of the producers is made an article of commerce, and as such liable to all the consequences of competition. . . . Mere capitalists, or persons who accumulate money by purchasing the labour of others, while they perform no labour themselves, do not add anything to the wealth of society, but on the contrary consume much. The difficulties of obtaining a subsistence by the labouring classes are every year becoming much greater, while the wealth accumulated by non-producers or idle classes, who by various expedients contrive to absorb the produce of the labourers, is every year greatly augmented.

'No "combinations," "trade unions," or other expedients that can be adopted by the labourers to check the diminution of their wages will produce the desired effect, so long as they hire themselves out to those who accumulate wealth by the profits made upon their labour.

'The reason of the preceding proposition is obvious; namely, the competition or attempts to undersell each other in the market carried on by the capitalists compels them to employ the least possible quantity of human labour by the substitution of machinery, and also to give the least possible remuneration for the human labour that they do employ. . . .

'From the preceding propositions it is manifest that there are no means of improving materially and permanently the condition of the labouring classes so long as the present system of labour and employment is continued. . . .

'It only remains therefore to suggest that there is but one

remedy for all the evils springing from the sources we have pointed out, and that is the conversion of the labourers from the *employed* to the *employers*. This would give them the unlimited control over all the wealth they produce, and of course secure to them an abundance of everything that human beings could desire.'

This comes much nearer to the standpoint of modern Socialism than the vague and windy communist manifesto issued by Marx and Engels seventeen years later. The English school at this date only just missed the subsequently completed formula, 'collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange.' Most of them thought the possession of land would suffice, and that labour, working for use, not profit, would then produce all that is necessary, though the possession of capital also was sometimes demanded. Such catchwords as 'each for all and all for each' were already in use, and the theory that unemployment is due to under-consumption, recently emphasised as a new discovery, had been formulated. It was clearly recognised that 'a sweeping change in the constitution of society' was necessary. Even the argument from statistical evidence was not lacking, being drawn from Colquhoun's 'Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire,' published in 1814.

All this was aside from, though parallel with, Owen's contemporary efforts, which are regarded by Mr Kirkup and others as representing English Socialism at the time. The teaching of the intellectual school did not issue in a lasting organised movement to give effect to it at the time; but it furnished the source from which Marx subsequently drew the economic materials for his revival of Socialism. The economic theories elaborated in 'Das Kapital'—commonly described as the Bible of Social Democracy—were taken from the writings of the English thinkers just described, who are therefore the intellectual parents of the modern movement. It is important to know this, because it shows that the ideas about capital, which are the core of the argument, were formed at a much earlier stage of industrial development than is commonly supposed, and that the Marxian gospel, when it came, was by no means the new revelation its authors pretended and its adherents be-

lieved. Nor was this early phase of Socialism in England an obscure agitation unnoticed by the public and by men of standing and authority. On the contrary, while Owen's philanthropies, ideal schemes, debates and discussions rang throughout the land and attracted the notice of prominent personages, besides exciting immense popular interest, the intellectual writers also, from Godwin onwards, received more attention from such economists as Malthus, James Mill and Brougham, than modern Socialism has, until recently, been able to extort from men of similar calibre. Thompson, indeed, exercised a conspicuous influence on the science of economics, as Prof. Foxwell has pointed out: 'He was the first writer to elevate the question of the just distribution of wealth to the supreme position it has since held in English political economy.' The chief problem became distribution, not production, as it had previously been; and that is really the gist of the change which has taken place on the economic side.

The deep-seated reason why the ideas launched at this time had to wait something like fifty years for the wide dissemination and acceptance they have since received in the modern revival is that people were not ready for them; the general ferment had not been long enough at work. In England the movement tailed off on the political side into Chartism, and on the practical side, after the breakdown of Owen's various ventures, into co-operation and the Christian Socialism of Maurice and Kingsley, which was, in effect, social reform and particularly sanitation, then recently brought into the field by science without any connexion with Socialism. In France the Saint-Simonians, carrying certain aspects of their cult too far in the direction of licentious manners, came into conflict with public opinion and the police. They had, by 1831, developed their ideas so far in harmony with the English contemporary school that they postulated the antagonism between the workers (including *savants* and *artistes* as well as *industriels*) and the idle rich, who live on tolls exacted from them; and they demanded a new social order in which this inequitable state of things should be done away by the gradual suppression of all tribute exacted by idleness from labour in the shape of rent from land and interest on premises, plant, and capital.

Without entering into an economic analysis or a theory of rights, they laid stress on the principle that every individual should be occupied according to his capacity and rewarded according to work accomplished; and they advocated a system of State ownership and control. In other words they anticipated State Collectivism. Nothing came of it or of Fourier's contemporary but different ideas, except that of the right to work, which he formulated. His proposals were more like Owen's; the new social order was to take shape in small voluntary communities in which the total product would be divided between labour, capital and talent in fixed proportions, and full play would be given to individual capacity and natural inequalities. The conception of the right to work has a particular interest because it came to a sort of practical trial, after being developed by Considérant and Louis Blanc, and has been revived to-day by the Labour party in this country. It was forced on the Provisional Government of France after the Revolution of February 1848, and took effect in the *Ateliers nationaux* which proved a ghastly and tragic failure. This experiment was not in the least what Blanc advocated. His particular form of Socialism was neither a State system like those of Babeuf and Saint-Simon, nor an anarchical communism like those dreamed by Godwin, Proudhon and Bakunin, nor a series of mixed voluntary associations such as Owen and Fourier advocated; it was a system in which industry was to be carried on by associations of workmen belonging to the same trade, with the assistance of a State department, which would operate distribution, locomotion and other public services. The system of trade associations, which is sometimes called group Socialism, had been previously advocated by Bray, an English Socialist, in 1839; it was also advocated later by Lassalle in Germany, and is the aim of the French *Confédération Générale du Travail* in France to-day, so far as that strongly anarchist organisation of trade unions has an aim beyond the general strike and war on the State. The *Ateliers nationaux* established in Paris were not an attempt to realise this idea; they were simply intended to provide State work for the unemployed, which is exactly what the Labour party mean to-day by the right to work. The men were employed on earth-works, as it

is now proposed to employ them on foreshore reclamation and afforestation. The failure of the experiment is therefore more pertinent to the Labour party's proposals than if it had really carried out Louis Blanc's ideas.

The revolutionary year 1848 may be said to close the first phase of active Socialism, with all the practical schemes collapsed and the organisations submerged. A period of eclipse followed before the rise of modern Socialism, which is much more easily described. It rather represents a synthesis and clarification of what had gone before than anything new. The only new idea introduced is that of evolutionary development, derived partly from Hegel and partly from Darwin, and the only new practical feature is the international organisation, which has never been very successful or influential, because the conditions are so different in different countries that as soon as the delegates get away from generalities they begin to quarrel. All the economic, juristic, ethical and political conceptions involved in Socialism were brought forward in the earlier period, and all its forms were suggested or attempted. Nevertheless there is a great difference, which is due to a change in the soil, not in the seed.

Marx and Engels are the twin authors of the revival of Socialism, and they worked so much together that it is difficult to disentangle the share of each; the name of Marx, as the author of 'Das Kapital,' usually stands for both as a matter of convenience, and he was no doubt the master spirit. The secret of the pre-eminent influence he has exercised lies not in any originality, but in the fact that he united three streams of thought—the German metaphysical, the French political revolutionary, and the English economic. It was a characteristically German and German-Jewish achievement. The strength of the German intellect has never lain in originality of invention, but in the power of thinking things out thoroughly, in pure reasoning; and the Jewish element is distinguished by a great capacity for adroit and subtle argument. Marx had all this; he was a *Gelehrter* and a student of Hegel, and he first approached the subject of Socialism from the philosophical standpoint. From Hegel's 'dialectic' he derived the conception of history as a logical process of development carried on from step to



step by the resolution of two opposing principles into one; but under the influence first of Feuerbach and then of French thought he gave the Hegelian conception a purely materialistic and a communistic turn.

Hence the communist manifesto which he drew up with Engels in 1847-48. It presents history from a purely materialistic standpoint as essentially a series of class struggles about property, with a final struggle between the *bourgeoisie* and the *proletariate*, ending in communism. These words 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariate,' which play so large a part in modern socialistic propaganda, have a very loose meaning. It appears from an observation of Dr Hammacher, whose elaborate treatise on Marxism is the most thorough as well as the most recent study of the subject, that Marx gave the word 'proletariate' its technical socialistic sense. It seems an almost ironical misnomer for the classes to which it is applied. Properly speaking it was a term of contempt applied to the lowest class of citizens in ancient Rome because they did nothing for the State except produce children, whereas the proletariat of Socialism is supposed to do everything for the State and to be the salt of the earth. But Marx had to have his Hegelian antithesis, and he found it here. This was the starting-point of scientific Socialism; the science in it was Hegel's. Into this idea Marx fitted the aims and tendencies of Socialism which he learnt from the French Socialists, and especially Proudhon, in Paris, where he went in 1843, being then twenty-five years old. The result is seen in the communist manifesto which sets out the class war. Later he fitted into the same frame the economics of Socialism, which he learnt from the English Socialists in London, where he settled in 1849. The result is seen in 'Das Kapital,' which appeared in 1867. This famous work is an old clothes-shop of ideas culled from Berlin, Paris and London, and woven together by a master hand. There is nothing really original in it except the working up which is masterly. In this respect it resembles the almost equally famous Bible of Christian Science called 'Science and Key to the Scriptures,' an amazingly adroit mixture of metaphysics, religion and faith-healing. There is about as much science in the one as in the other. Science begins with observation; Marx began with an abstract conception



into which he fitted both facts and reasoning. He did this with immense industry, logical power and ingenuity; but that does not make it scientific. He also collected an enormous amount of evidence, but it is all second-hand. He seems to have made no observations of his own, to have known nothing about business or business men, and to have never entered one of the factories about which he writes so much. He was a bookworm. It was just his want of first-hand observation, and his reliance on abstract conceptions that led him to those confident conclusions which the course of events has falsified and is falsifying more and more every day.

However, he rendered immense services to Socialism by unifying and revivifying its scattered doctrines and giving them a systematic form; his writings have been a powerful propagandist instrument, and have had an important share in the immense growth of the movement which has taken place since their publication. They still form the basis of modern socialist literature and of the popular appeal which it makes to the masses, and from them is derived the formula which has been adopted by nearly all socialist organisations as embodying their aims. Marx did not formulate it himself, or even, as already observed, come so near to it as the early English Socialists who are dismissed with an airy wave of the hand as mere Utopians. The service of disentangling this formula was performed by Prof. Schäffle, whose 'Quintessence of Socialism,' originally published in 1874, has gone through many editions, and still remains the classical exposition of the doctrine. He thus states the aim of the movement:

'To replace the system of private capital (i.e. the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprises) by a system of collective capital, that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or collective) organisation of national labour, on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of the society.'

This has since been shortened, and at the same time widened, into 'the collective ownership, or socialisation, of all the means of production, distribution and exchange,' with sundry minor variations and additions

according to particular views. The form which this ownership should take has never been settled, and is the subject of much strife. State ownership is the most generally accepted form; but there is also municipal or local ownership, group or trade ownership, and universal ownership, corresponding to different forms of Socialism.

This is the practical aim of Socialism as consolidated and bequeathed by Marx; the means of accomplishing it is the class war. Its philosophical basis is pure materialism; its religious basis is simple negation; its ethical basis the theory that society makes the individuals of which it is composed, not the individuals society, and that therefore the structure of society determines individual conduct, which involves moral irresponsibility; its economic basis is the theory that labour is the sole producer, and that capital is the surplus value over bare subsistence produced by labour and stolen by capitalists; its juristic basis is the right of labour to the whole product; its historical basis is the industrial revolution, that is, the change from small and handicraft methods of production to large and mechanical ones, and the warfare of classes; its political basis is democracy. It does not fall within the scope of this essay to examine these bases, or the practicability of the object, which depends on their validity. But it may be noted that some of them have already been abandoned and are in ruins, others are beginning to shake; and as this process advances the defenders are compelled to retreat and take up fresh positions. Thus the form of the doctrine changes and undergoes modification, though all cling still to the central principle, which is the substitution of public for private ownership.

Socialism, as we said at the beginning, is an extreme form of a great general movement. The question of the future is whether that general movement of social reform will evolve into Socialism, or whether, on the other hand, Socialism will be merged in social reform. The answer to that depends on the soundness of the premisses on which Socialism is based, and must be left to a second article in which these premisses will be examined and the present position and future prospects of Socialism discussed.

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## Art. 6.—THE NEW ASTRONOMY.

1. *An Atlas of Representative Stellar Spectra.* By Sir William and Lady Huggins. Publications of Sir William Huggins' Observatory, vol. I. London: Wesley, 1899.
2. *The Scientific Papers of Sir William Huggins, K.C.B., O.M.* Edited by Sir William Huggins, K.C.B., O.M., and Lady Huggins, M.R.A.S. Publications of Sir William Huggins' Observatory, vol. II. London: Wesley, 1909.

MEN of science all over the world are to be congratulated on the appearance of a collected edition of the beautiful papers which record the creation of the science now known as astrophysics. The partnerships by which the great work has been carried through are specially noteworthy. During a few of the earliest years important papers appeared under the joint names of Huggins and Miller. But since Sir William Huggins' marriage in 1875 to Miss Margaret Murray of Dublin, the astronomer of Tulse Hill has been privileged to enjoy the admirable participation of his wife in his labours. As soon as he had made experience of the high qualities of Lady Huggins' skill both in the observatory and the laboratory, he requested her to take her place formally as collaborator in his scientific work, and from that time up to the present day the contributions which have so greatly enriched astronomy appear under their joint names. Husband and wife shared alike their noble pursuits whether in the chemical laboratory or in the astronomical observatory. The originators of this fascinating branch of astronomy laid its foundations so deep that they cannot be shaken, and so broad that they have supplied a base for all subsequent investigations. But Sir William and Lady Huggins were not content with being merely the founders of astrophysics. They have themselves taken so large a share in the development of the new science that their successors have been chiefly occupied in filling up details or carrying out extensions on plans already indicated.

It has not unfrequently happened in the history of science that long intervals have elapsed between the first stage of a great scientific discovery and the subsequent

stages in which the true significance of the discovery is realised. We have a remarkable instance of this in connexion with the dark lines in the solar spectrum. In 1802 Wollaston first described these lines. In 1823 Fraunhofer showed that they were produced by the sun's and not by the earth's atmosphere because Sirius and Castor had lines quite distinctively different from the solar lines. The significance of this discovery could not be fully perceived till more than thirty years later, when the chemical interpretation of the Fraunhofer lines was discovered. On this fundamental point Huggins writes:

'Prophetic guesses were made by Stokes and by Kelvin. But it was Kirchhoff who, in 1859, first fully developed the true significance of the dark lines; and by his joint work with Bunsen on the solar spectrum proved beyond all question that the dark lines in the spectrum of the sun are produced by the absorption of the vapours of the same substances which, when suitably heated, give out corresponding bright lines; and further, that many of the solar absorbing vapours are those of substances found upon the earth. The new astronomy was born.'

Just before the announcement of Kirchhoff's epoch-making work Huggins had provided himself with a fine achromatic of eight inches aperture, made by Alvan Clark. He had begun to make such observations as are usual with the owner of a private observatory. He made, for example, drawings of Jupiter and he took transits of stars. But work of this order he soon found to be unsatisfying. With a rare ambition he felt desirous of studying the heavens in some new direction or by new methods. While his project was in this nascent state he heard of Kirchhoff's great discovery by which the chemical constitution of the sun could be inferred from the Fraunhofer lines. Huggins immediately felt that spectrum analysis must be the new method of research for which he was seeking. He thereupon resolved to extend to the other heavenly bodies investigations similar to those which Kirchhoff had conducted with such success on the solar spectrum.

In the autumn of 1860 or the spring of 1861 Huggins attended a *soirée* of the Pharmaceutical Society in London and met there the late Dr W. Allen Miller, Professor of

Chemistry at King's College, and a recognised authority on the new chemical spectroscopy. Huggins and Miller walked home together, and on their way Huggins, having mentioned his design of applying Kirchhoff's analysis to the stars, boldly invited Miller's assistance. At first Miller hesitated, urging that the research proposed seemed too delicate to be practicable. Little could Miller have foreseen that the motion of stars in the line of sight would be discovered by spectroscopic measurements of a higher order of accuracy, on objects only feebly visible, than were attained by Kirchhoff and Bunsen even though they were measuring amid the splendours of the solar spectrum. Fortunately the enthusiasm of Huggins prevailed, and Miller consented to come to the observatory on the first fine night. We should here mention that Miller's kindly aid in these early years could hardly be described as systematic co-operation. His other duties would in any case have prevented him from taking much share in the laborious preparations or observations, but he was always a sympathising and encouraging friend.

Huggins had made preliminary attempts to observe stellar spectra before the beginning of 1862, and soon after the close of that year Huggins and Miller sent a joint preliminary communication to the Royal Society entitled 'Notes on the Lines in the Spectra of some of the Fixed Stars.' In this early paper we may discern the characteristic precision of Huggins' work. It was not enough for him to record the number of the lines or their appearance, or the part of the spectrum in which they were situated; he was not satisfied unless the position of each line was determined with all attainable accuracy. Measurements are given in this paper of the positions of the principal lines in the spectra of the stars Sirius, Betelgeux, and Aldebaran; and it is stated that the spectra of some forty stars had been observed and also the spectra of the planets Jupiter and Mars. In connexion with the history of the subject it is well to cite a passage\* in which, referring to this paper, Huggins says:

'It was a little remarkable that on the same day on which our paper was to be read, but some little time after it had

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\* Vol. ii, p. 40,

been sent in, news arrived from America that similar observations on some of the stars had been made by Mr Rutherford.\*

Those who are old enough to recollect the publication in 1864 of the monumental paper by Huggins and Miller entitled, 'On the Spectra of some of the Fixed Stars,'\* will recall the profound effect which it produced on scientific thought. It may well be doubted whether the 'Philosophical Transactions' ever contained a plate more attractive by its novelty, or more illuminating by its wonderful suggestiveness, than that in which Huggins and Miller recorded their work on the spectra of Aldebaran and  $\alpha$  Orionis. Even with the aid of a telescope the hues of these two first magnitude stars are not very dissimilar to ordinary vision. But the spectrum of each, as now displayed for the first time, showed an elaborate system of lines. These lines are characteristically different in one star from what they are in the other, and thus illustrate in the most unexpected manner how 'one star differeth from another star in glory.'

It was by these memorable researches that the student of the heavens learned how the features of the spectrum of a star could be compared with the spectra of terrestrial elements. The numerous coincidences between lines in the spectra of the glowing vapours of sodium, magnesium, hydrogen, calcium, iron, bismuth, and tellurium, with corresponding lines in the spectrum of Aldebaran, proved beyond a doubt the existence in that distant star of the elementary bodies just named. If any one were inclined to doubt the cogency of the proof let him consider the case of sodium. When the two spectra are brought side by side each component of the characteristic close double line of terrestrial sodium is shown to coincide with the corresponding component of a close double line in the spectrum of Aldebaran. Another comparison of a terrestrial spectrum with that of Aldebaran is in some respects even more striking. The three remarkable bright lines in the spectrum of burning magnesium were found to coincide with a striking triplet of dark lines in the spectrum of Aldebaran. Therefore magnesium is present in that star.

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\* 'Phil. Trans.,' cliv, 413-435; see also 'Scientific Papers,' p. 44.

It must not be supposed that coincidences were obtainable in all cases between dark lines in the spectrum of Aldebaran and bright lines in the spectrum from the electric spark between poles made of a terrestrial element submitted to the comparison. As Huggins tells us, 'Seven other elements were compared with this star, viz., nitrogen, cobalt, tin, lead, cadmium, lithium, and barium. No coincidence was observed.'

Notwithstanding the developments, photographic and otherwise, that these methods have since received, largely by the instrumentality of Huggins himself, this wonderful paper must ever be regarded as an account of a model scientific research of the highest as well as of the most original kind conducted with exceptional skill and accuracy. It formed the point of departure whence has arisen the vast science now known as astrophysics. From 1864 onwards the name of Huggins on a scientific paper has ever commanded the respectful attention of every one interested in the great problems of the universe.

It should at this point be explained that the observation of stellar spectra by the eye was, in later years, supplemented and greatly extended by the use of the photographic dry plate. Thus we are led on to the beautiful discovery of 1880, in which a connected series of hydrogen lines up to its ninth member are announced by Huggins to be present in the spectrum of Vega. This ordered series is significant also for the constitution of the molecule of hydrogen, and it has more recently found its further continuation in stellar spectra.

The paper on stellar spectra in 1864 was soon followed by another, which described what has sometimes been held to be the most illuminating of all the discoveries of Huggins. It certainly shed much light on the long controverted question as to the nature of those dim and distant objects called *Nebulæ*. Up to the time of the discovery to which we are now referring, a nebula was often supposed to be nothing but a cluster of stars situated at so great a distance from the earth that, even when viewed through the telescope, the separate stars could not be distinguished. According to this view it was the combined glow of the several stars in the cluster which produced the diffused luminosity to which the term nebula was applied. There was much to be urged



in support of this contention. It was certainly true that, with each increase in the power of the telescope, one so-called nebula after another disclosed itself as no more than a multitude of stars in close association. The repeated success of these attempts to resolve nebulae gave considerable support to the view that the resolution of all nebulae could be only a question of obtaining sufficient telescopic power. Doubtless many astronomers felt that this conclusion was incompatible with the obviously gaseous or vaporous appearance of certain of the nebulae, but nothing was really known of the composition of these objects until 1864, when, in the words of the late Dr Romney Robinson, Huggins made his 'palmary discovery.'

In the constellation of Draco,\* on a line two-thirds of the way from the pole star to  $\gamma$  Draconis, lies one of those very curious and infrequent objects known as a planetary nebula. Invisible to the unaided eye, it appears in a good telescope as a small blue object so circular in its form and definite in its outline as to have been not unjustly compared to the disc of a planet. A planetary nebula is indeed so like a large and distant planet that when so accurate and experienced an observer as Sir John Herschel unexpectedly encountered the planet Uranus in one of his famous sweeps of the heavens, he tells us he was under a momentary impression that the object before him must be a new planetary nebula.

Following up his success on the stars, Huggins determined to try if spectral analysis would throw any light on the constitution of the nebulae. The condensed brightness which characterises the planetary nebulae suggested that the first attempt should be made on one of these objects. He chose the planetary nebula in Draco as the brightest of those which were suitably placed, and the selection was indeed fortunate. August 29, 1864, was thus made a memorable epoch in the history of our knowledge of the nebulae. It was on that evening that Huggins turned his spectroscope on the glowing globe in Draco. He was alone when he made this

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\* The nebula is in R.A. 17h. 59m. decl.  $66^{\circ} 38'$  (H. iv, 37). A beautiful photograph of it is given in pl. 57 of vol. viii of the publications of the Lick Observatory.



first observation of the spectrum of a nebula, of which he writes :

‘The reader may now be able to picture to himself to some extent the feeling of excited suspense, mingled with a degree of awe, with which, after a few moments of hesitation, I put my eye to the spectroscope. Was I not about to look into a secret place of creation?’

Look then he did, and saw a nebular spectrum. But it was not a continuous spectrum like that of a star, it was merely a line of light. He first conjectured that some mechanical derangement must have taken place in the spectroscope, but he speedily assured himself that this was not the case, for the instrument proved to be in perfect order. The unexpected conclusion was therefore forced upon him that this nebula, instead of giving the usual continuous spectrum of sun or star, merely gave light which was concentrated in a bright line. The significance of this result was not impaired, it was rather enhanced, when closer examination revealed a second bright line at some distance from the first, and still another fainter line was also added to complete the nebular spectrum.

It thus appeared that the spectrum of this planetary nebula was not of the continuous type that had previously been found to be characteristic of sun or star. The nebular spectrum presented no continuous band of light but only three transverse bright lines separated by dark spaces. The interpretation of this discovery was immediately forthcoming. The spectrum of a gas rendered incandescent by a current of electricity consists of a number of bright lines separated by dark spaces. The character of the lines depends upon the nature of the gas, and the electricity is merely the agent by which the gas is made to declare itself.

Thus, from terrestrial chemistry, Huggins obtained the interpretation of the spectrum of this planetary nebula by showing that it had the characteristics of the spectrum of a mass of glowing vapour. For the first time in the history of science a really great step had been taken in elucidating the constitution of a nebula. This particular nebula and other nebulae of the same class certainly did not consist of distant stellar clusters, but they did consist

of glowing vapours or gases. It thus appeared that at least some of the thousands of objects known as *nebulae* were rightly so called.

It remained to determine whether the gases whose presence was revealed by the bright lines in the spectrum of the planetary nebula could be identified with any of our known gases. Huggins again invoked the ingenious arrangements which he had devised for the comparison of the actual spectra of terrestrial substances side by side with the actual spectra of the celestial objects. The result was of consummate interest. It was shown that hydrogen was certainly indicated, because one of the three bright lines in the nebula was certainly identical in position with a bright line of incandescent hydrogen. But this line (it is the well-known F of the solar spectrum) was not the brightest of the three. The brightest line in the nebular spectrum was at first thought to be coincident with a line in the spectrum of incandescent nitrogen. Closer examination showed that the coincidence was not absolute, and that consequently nitrogen was not indicated in the nebula. Nor was there any other known terrestrial element which could account for the nebular line. The gas producing this line, and probably also the third of the three bright lines in the nebular spectrum, has been attributed to a body, at present hypothetical, which has been named *nebulium*. This element, if such indeed it should prove to be, though at present unknown as a terrestrial substance, is certainly distributed in abundance among many of the celestial bodies.

If the revelation of the bright line spectrum of a nebula was one of the most striking discoveries in the earlier part of the career of Huggins, assuredly the climax of his skill in this department was shown a quarter of a century later. It was in 1890 that Sir William and Lady Huggins obtained that beautiful photograph\* of the spectrum of the great nebula in Orion which not only confirmed the existence of hydrogen by the discovery of other lines attributable to that gas in the invisible part of the nebular spectrum, but added a multitude of further details.

There are gaseous *nebulae* and doubtful *nebulae*. The

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\* This photograph is given both in vol. i, pl. iii, and in vol. ii, p. 189.

gaseous nebulae give, as we have seen, a bright line spectrum showing their gaseous nature. But they are the exceptions. The great majority appear to be of a doubtful nature; for example, Huggins showed that the great so-called nebula in Andromeda and the famous spiral in Canes Venatici exhibited continuous spectra. Further investigations proved that the gaseous nebulae were very much fewer than those whose spectra presented the appearance which would be shown by an irresolvable star cluster. Objects of the type of the great nebula in Andromeda are far more common than those of the type of the great nebula in Orion.

The announcement of these striking discoveries justly attracted the attention of the scientific world. The intrinsic interest of the subject, the thoroughness of the methods of investigation, the completeness of the demonstration, and the refinement and beauty of the experimental and astronomical processes, received the universal admiration they so highly merited. Veteran members of the British Association may recall the meeting at Nottingham in 1866 in which one of the evening lectures was delivered by Mr Huggins. The novelty and charm of that admirable discourse\* can never have been forgotten by any one fortunate enough to have been a listener. It was perhaps the first occasion on which the attention of the great public was drawn to the fact that a new era had dawned in astronomy.

Huggins was favoured by a remarkable stroke of good fortune in these early years, but assuredly it was one of those strokes of good fortune which never fall except on those who deserve them. It was only the uninterrupted devotion with which Huggins had perfected his appliances for stellar spectroscopy that enabled him to avail himself of a capital opportunity when it came. It would almost seem as if the heavens, desiring to test the methods of the new astronomy, suddenly displayed a rare object which would have been of much interest in any case, but which became of critical significance in regard to the new methods.

The circumstances attending the sudden appearance of a bright new star in the Crown are indeed noteworthy.

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\* Reprinted in vol. ii, p. 485.

They engaged widespread interest at the time, for the incident was not of a recondite nature appealing only to the skilled astronomer who had the resources of an observatory at his disposal. It appealed to every one who had eyes to see.

But there are eyes and eyes, and it was Mr John Birmingham of Tuam who was the first to notice, just before midnight on May 12, 1866, that a new star had appeared in the constellation Corona Borealis. Mr Birmingham wrote in a day or two to Mr Huggins calling attention to the discovery, because he thought the new star would be a most interesting object for spectral analysis. Mr Birmingham was at that time unknown to science, though he afterwards acquired well-merited repute by diligent work on variable stars. His announcement was put to the test as soon as possible after the receipt of the letter, and, in the words of Huggins,

‘Fortunately the evening was fine (May 16), and as soon as it was dusk I looked, with not a little scepticism, I freely confess, at the place of the sky named in the letter. To my great joy, there shone a bright new star, giving a new aspect to the Northern Crown.’

Huggins sent a messenger for his friend Dr Miller, asking him to come to the observatory to join in the spectroscopic examination of this unexpected celestial visitor. An hour later the telescope of the Tulse Hill Observatory, with the spectroscope attached, was directed to ‘the blazing star.’ At the time Mr Birmingham discovered Nova Coronæ he deemed it to be of the second magnitude. It had even then, perhaps, begun to decline, for the subsequent fall in its lustre was such that, when Huggins and Miller commenced their examination on May 16, the Nova had dwindled below the third magnitude. But fortunately the waning star was still quite bright enough to reveal its extraordinary nature to the spectroscopists. It showed two totally different spectra superposed. The first of these, which may be called the absorption spectrum, resembled in its general features an ordinary stellar spectrum or a miniature solar spectrum. It exhibited the usual band of prismatic colours, crossed by a number of dark lines due to absorption. These lines in Nova Coronæ may doubtless be in-

terpreted in much the same way as the dark lines in the spectra of stars of a more ordinary kind.

But the remarkable circumstance revealed by the spectroscope when applied to Nova Coronæ is not exhibited in this ordinary stellar spectrum or in the dark lines by which it is crossed. It is the superposed spectrum which specially called for attention. For this superposed spectrum is of three or four bright lines and therefore indicative of the presence of gases in a state of glowing incandescence. A comparison with terrestrial gases showed that flaming hydrogen was certainly a constituent of this star. Bright lines indicating flaming gas had never before been observed in a stellar spectrum; so that, even if there had been no other circumstances about Nova Coronæ than those presented by its spectrum, it would necessarily have had to be noted as a remarkable object. The gradual decline in the lustre of the new star continued; on the 17th May its magnitude at midnight was stated by Mr Baxendell to be 4.9, on the 18th it was 5.3, on the 19th it was 5.7, and on the 20th it was 6.2. But even with this reduced magnitude the characteristic spectrum, or rather double spectrum, was still to be clearly seen. By the 24th the star had declined to the 8.1 magnitude, whence it finally subsided to the tenth magnitude. This is indeed its normal condition, and as an ordinary star of the tenth magnitude it had been recorded on Argelander's star-charts many years before the temporary exaltation which brought it into fame.

The history of this stellar outbreak is indeed remarkable. It is told that Schmidt, an accomplished astronomer at Athens, saw nothing unusual when he happened to survey Corona Borealis just four hours before Mr Birmingham discovered the new star as a brilliant object which, as he says, transformed the whole appearance of the constellation. The uprise of the star from the tenth magnitude to the second or even higher must have taken place within those four hours.\* The kindling of this conflagration in a few hours, and its subsequent decline in a few days, show plainly the occurrence of

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\* We do not here pause to speculate on the unknown distance of this star, but it is, of course, quite possible that the incident, of which news arrived at the earth only in 1866, may have really occurred a century earlier.

something wholly extraordinary. It proves that there must have been some outburst of glowing gas or vapour, or some explosion on a stupendous scale. If some such cataclysm is immediately suggested by the mere history of the star as presented to the ordinary star-gazer how strikingly do we find it confirmed by the spectroscopic discovery that this particular star actually did contain blazing hydrogen and was on this account of a totally different character from any ordinary star. The discovery was specially opportune in those early days of the new astronomy. It displayed in the most effective manner the value of this versatile ally to the forces which were previously at the disposal of the student of the heavens.

We have mentioned Nova Coronæ (1866) as the earliest of the stars described as 'novæ' which were examined at the Tulse Hill Observatory. But the star known as Nova Aurigæ, which appeared in December 1891, was an object even more remarkable than Nova Coronæ. The methods used by Sir William and Lady Huggins had greatly developed in the quarter of a century which had elapsed since the apparition of the earlier of these novæ, and the photographic plate was now available to record any lines that might be present in those parts of the spectrum of Nova Aurigæ which correspond to rays invisible to the human eye. It was therefore under greatly improved conditions that Nova Aurigæ was submitted to spectroscopic examination at Tulse Hill. The fruitfulness of the new astronomy had never been more abundantly illustrated than when it was applied to the elucidation of this remarkable object.

The discovery of Nova Aurigæ was made by the Rev. Dr Anderson of Edinburgh on February 1, 1892, and Dr Copeland, the late Astronomer Royal for Scotland at once sent a telegram to announce the fact at Tulse Hill. But before mentioning the memorable results which followed the spectroscopic examination of this star, it is well to recall certain facts about Nova Aurigæ which were brought to light subsequently to its actual discovery by Anderson. It appears that on December 8, i.e. nearly two months before the visual discovery, Dr Max Wolf had occasion to photograph the region of the heavens wherein lay the nova. But no unusual star so

bright as the ninth magnitude was shown on the plate. On the following night a plate was exposed to the same part of the sky at Harvard College Observatory, and when this plate was afterwards scrutinised in the light of Anderson's discovery, the nova was found as a star of the fifth magnitude in a place where no star even of the eleventh magnitude had been previously recognised. It is thus certain that Nova Aurigæ rose, between December 9 and 10, 1892, from insignificance up to the dignity of a star of the fifth magnitude.

Inspired by the example and taught by the writings of Huggins, there were many capable astronomers who were in a position to make spectroscopic observations of Nova Aurigæ in 1892. But the Tulse Hill astronomers were as ever in the van. By an exposure of an hour and three-quarters they obtained a photograph of the spectrum of this wonderful object which would have sufficed to prove, even if nothing had been known of the history of this star, that in the phenomena presented by Nova Aurigæ we had evidence of some celestial cataclysm of a nature as violent as it was exceptional.

We have already seen how Vega presented a photographic spectrum characterised by a remarkable series of dark lines which evidently belonged to some organised system, and were indeed proved by laboratory experiments to be due to the absorption caused by hydrogen in the atmosphere of the star. This system of lines was found in the photographs of the spectrum of Nova Aurigæ, but they were there presented in a remarkable association. Each of the dark hydrogen lines had beside it a bright line. These bright lines together formed a system similar to the dark lines, and there could be no doubt that the system of bright lines indicated hydrogen in a state of glowing incandescence. The dark lines were no less indicative of the presence of volumes of relatively cool hydrogen which intercepted corresponding rays coming from an incandescent body beneath. Both of the systems of lines were due to the presence of hydrogen in one form or another. But it may be asked why were not the lines superposed rather than placed side by side? We know only one explanation of this circumstance, but that explanation is quite sufficient, and we know it is certainly true. To produce this



particular spectrum two bodies are required. The bright lines come from one body and the dark lines from another. This circumstance alone would not account for the absence of coincidence in the positions of the two spectra. But it is completely explained by the supposition that one of the bodies was rapidly approaching the earth and the other rapidly retreating. It was afterwards shown by Vogel that the two stars were separating at the rate of 550 miles a second, and for a full six weeks this rate was maintained.

Among the many discoveries of Huggins which have thrown light on the material constitution of the heavenly bodies, a high place must be assigned to those relating to comets. It is to be observed that much of the work at Tulse Hill was done by day in the laboratory as well as by night in the observatory. The work in the observatory became so productive largely because of the knowledge acquired in the laboratory. A striking instance of this is shown in the observations of the spectra of comets. Huggins had made a special study of the difficult problem presented in the spectrum of carbon, and the spectra of the different compounds of carbon, including olefiant gas. He made measurements of the positions of the lines in these spectra and constructed maps on which the lines were laid down. Perhaps Huggins hardly anticipated how soon this particular laboratory work was to be followed by a superb discovery in his observatory. He already knew that the spectra of comets were characterised by three bright flutings. He only awaited the arrival of a sufficiently bright comet to confront its spectrum with terrestrial spectra. In June 1868 a suitable comet made its appearance, and on the evening of June 22nd he measured the positions of the three brightest flutings in its spectrum. When these measures were examined on the following morning, Huggins tells us how surprised he was to find that the spectrum of the comet appeared to tally with the spectrum of carbon when the light was produced by an electric spark in a current of olefiant gas.

Thus a memorable research was suggested for the next night. A holder of olefiant gas was brought into the observatory, and the usual arrangements were made so that light from the electric spark in the gas was conducted through a portion of the slit by which the



light of the comet was admitted to the spectroscope. The trial was made, and the spectrum of the comet agreed perfectly with the spectrum of the gas, so far as the three flutings were concerned. The inference was irresistible. It would have been an outrage on all probability to deny that the presence of some compound of carbon in the comet gave this character to its spectrum. This observation proved that the principal part of the light of this particular comet was emitted by luminous vapours containing carbon. As might have been expected from its comparative proximity to the sun, reflected light from the sun also forms part of the radiation which was received from the comet. Thus the spectrum of this body was of a double type, for to the carbon spectrum of bright lines already considered must be added a faint continuous solar spectrum.

Once again the Tulse Hill Observatory surpassed its earlier achievements. When a fine comet appeared in 1881 it was made to yield its record of invisible light on a photographic plate. Two new groups of bright lines were discovered which Professors Liveing and Dewar showed to be due probably to the presence of cyanogen.

Hitherto the spectroscope had been used merely for the purpose which its name indicates. But Huggins had acquired such a mastery of his instrument that in February 1869 he was able to announce an important advance in the methods of solar observation. After mentioning the great success of Janssen and Lockyer in observing bright lines in the spectra of solar prominences when there was no eclipse, Huggins says : \*

‘As yet, by all observers the lines only of the prominences had been seen, and therefore, to learn their forms, it was necessary to combine in one design the lengths of the lines as they varied, when the slit was made to pass over a prominence. In February of the following year (1869) it occurred to me that, by widening the opening of the slit, the form of a prominence, and not its lines only, might be directly observed. This method of using a wide slit has been since universally employed.’

It remains to mention the application of the spectro-

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\* Vol. ii, p. 306.

scopic method to a totally different branch of astronomical research, concerning which Huggins himself writes as follows:

'From the beginning of our work upon the spectra of the stars, I saw in vision the applications of the new knowledge to the creation of a great method of astronomical observation which could not fail in future to have a powerful influence on the progress of astronomy; indeed, in some respects greater than the more direct one of the investigation of the chemical nature and the relative physical conditions of the stars.'

How splendidly his 'vision' has been justified is now a commonplace of astronomy.

In the older astronomy there was one class of movements of the heavenly bodies which were necessarily unknown. The motion of a star could never be seen if that motion were directed straight towards the observer or straight from him. The resources of the observatory of course permitted measurements to be made along the surface of the celestial sphere. But no mere telescopic contrivances could give any means of measuring or even detecting a movement along the line of sight. Until Huggins introduced his beautiful spectroscopic method the investigation of movements of celestial bodies in the line of sight lay utterly beyond the range of the astronomer.

The principle of the method, sometimes called 'Doppler's principle,' is one of much beauty. It depends upon the fact that there is a shift in the position of the spectrum when the body has any movement in the line of sight with respect to the observer. How much delicacy is required may be estimated from the fact that a relative velocity of 196 miles a second would be necessary to shift the lines of the spectrum through a distance equal to the distance between the two component lines of the well-known pair indicative of sodium (D in the solar spectrum). In a paper published in 1868, and which in years to come may be regarded as the most far-reaching of all the Tulse Hill astronomical papers, Huggins recorded that he had measured the displacement of a line of hydrogen in the spectrum of Sirius with regard to the corresponding line in the spectrum of terrestrial hydrogen. He thus proved

that Sirius was receding from our system, and his measurements enabled him to determine its velocity in miles per second. In 1880 he made preliminary trials of photographing star spectra on the same plate as terrestrial spectra for better determination of motion in the line of sight. Some years later, from the improvements in photography and the instrumental developments of Vogel and others, it even appeared that the spectroscopic method of determining the motion of bodies in the line of sight came, in the words of Huggins, 'within the range of the ordinary routine work of the observatory.' We would like to add that he who would pursue this 'routine' must possess himself at least of the caution and patience which we associate with the name of the pioneers, acquire so far as he can their delicate skill, and aspire to some share of their genius.

The noble volumes before us are the record of two lives spent in devotion to science. They constitute a monument of conscientious work carried out with the most painstaking assiduity for half a century. They are astronomical classics of the very highest rank. Their beauty is enhanced by the pencil of Lady Huggins, while the inclusion of a paper on the 'Function of the Soundpost in the Violin' is welcome as a pleasing indication of other personal tastes of the authors. Astronomers will prize these volumes all the more because they contain admirable portraits of Sir William and Lady Huggins, whose labours have so widely extended our knowledge of the universe and pointed the way towards other great developments of the present and the future.

The new science of astrophysics is now one of the most important branches of astronomy. It is fundamental in revealing secrets about the nature, the structure and the movements of vast and remote stellar systems. It increases our knowledge of the small world we inhabit by comparison of the phenomena presented by matter here with those presented by the same matter tried in the fiery furnace of the stars.

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## Art. 7.—INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

*Storia do Mogor ; or Mogul India, 1653-1708.* By Niccolao Manucci, Venetian. Translated, with introduction and notes, by William Irvine, Bengal Civil Service (retired). Four vols. ('Indian Texts Series.') London: Murray, 1907-8.

THE joys of travel are not dead, but they are immeasurably more tame and restricted than in the exciting years when Niccolao Manucci wandered through India. Now there are no new worlds to conquer; ladies journey alone in tolerable security where, a century ago, men ran an excellent risk of having their throats cut; and a Parisian hat, even when 'dilapidated,' has been proved by Mrs de Bunsen to be a safer defence than a revolver against the rifles of Kurdish banditti. Miss Bell is as much at home among the Druzes as Lady Hester Stanhope was, without the protection of her ladyship's prophetic mantle. China is almost as hackneyed as Piccadilly; even Tibet and the Karakorum are beaten tracks. There remain only the poles and the air to tempt the really adventurous. It was not so when the splendour of India burst upon an amazed Europe; when, on the last day of December 1600, the Honourable East India Company received its charter, and boldly set out to exploit an almost unknown land. The first English visitors were obviously quite unprepared for the wonders they met and to their credit encountered with the renowned composure of their race. Rumour, indeed, had reached Europe of a marvellous emperor named Akbar, whose power and wisdom and strange toleration sounded like fables, but no one at Elizabeth's Court had a much clearer conception of the Great Mogul than of the Great Panjandrum.

When, in the reign of her successor, Englishmen penetrated to Delhi and Agra, Akbar was dead, and it is an incalculable loss to history that no European was in a position to describe the character and conversation of this remarkable ruler; but they found in his successor, unworthy though he was, a powerful sovereign, master of a vast and elaborately organised state, with an army of a quarter of a million, a revenue not far short of a hundred millions of our money, a capital more peopled

than the Paris of that day, a Court more sumptuous than any they had seen in Europe, and a civilisation as polished, as artistic, as literary as any they had left behind. These early travellers arrived when the Mogul Empire, founded by Babar in the first half of the sixteenth century, had reached its zenith. To repeat what was said in a previous survey of travels in the Mogul Empire ('Quarterly Review,' No. 352),

'the period of real Mogul supremacy in India nearly corresponds to the duration of personal monarchy in England. Its greatest glory was at the time when Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts were on the throne. Its mortal sickness began when a Puritan in India outdid in bigotry the Puritan Protector of England; and it was already in presence of its destroyers when the Stuarts were driven from the throne. Such parallels may appear over-stretched, but they have their use in helping us to appreciate the mental attitude in which Englishmen approached the Court of the Great Mogul.'

It was singularly fortunate that the period of greatest brilliance in the Indian Empire should occur just at the time when a new epoch was dawning in European relations with the East. The Portuguese supremacy on the Indian seas which a century before had crushed the old Arab and Egyptian commerce, was itself annihilated when the Dutch and a few years later the English Company sent their ships to Surat. The establishment of the English factory there in the early years of the seventeenth century shifted the carrying trade to English vessels and forced upon the reluctant Mogul the visits of British envoys resolved to develop commercial relations and to open the way to travellers. Hawkins, Roe, della Valle, Mandelslo, were soon there, and put their more or less instructive impressions on record; and they were followed before long by the scholarly and philosophic Bernier, whose 'Travels' formed our best authority on the state of India at the accession of Aurangzib until Mr Irvine produced the masterly translation of Manucci's memoirs which is the subject of this article.

Besides these distinguished visitors, Europeans of a much lower degree flocked to India in those days of golden hopes. As the records of the time are more and more searched and published we are struck by the frequent

appearance of Europeans, especially Englishmen, at most of the centres of Indian luxury: needy adventurers, all of them, attracted by vague possibilities of wealth and by opportunities for licence in a society where public opinion did not impose too rigorous checks upon moral irregularity. No remarkable qualifications were needed to secure employment, even of a highly technical nature. To be a European seemed guaranty enough of a sound knowledge of gunnery; and Manucci himself, who left Europe as a lad of fourteen and can have had no training or experience, found himself almost immediately entrusted by Prince Dara with a commission in his artillery at a monthly salary of 80 rupees, and soon afterwards appears as actually in command of a battery in the defence of the fortress of Bhakkar, where, according to his own account, he did signal execution with a charge of 'horns and old shoes.' A few years later he was offered by the Viceroy of Goa the command of a Portuguese man-of-war, but declined the dignity because he had not money to pay the soldiers and crew.

There were many others equally fortunate in the credit of unproved capacities. Good salaries and valuable privileges, such as the sole right to distil spirits (which Manucci farmed out to a native for ten rupees a day), brought plenty of candidates for posts in the Mogul's artillery, and it is to be feared that these amateur 'gunners' were no great credit to their nation. One of Manucci's earliest experiences in India was an audacious robbery by two English rascals, one of whom later figured among Aurangzib's artillerymen. They had a very light 'job,' for all they had to do was 'to take aim; as for all the rest—the fatigue of raising, lowering, loading, and firing—this was the business of artificers or labourers kept for the purpose'; and the European gunlayers had therefore ample leisure to indulge in the 'insolent behaviour and drunkenness' which eventually brought them to disgrace under the cold eye of that arch-abolitionist the Emperor Aurangzib. Manucci tells an unedifying story of Gunner John White, a renegade who married a Mohammedan wife and did not get the best of the bargain. The lady made him 'eat dirt' and then escort her publicly in a triumphal procession to signalise his penitence for unjust suspicions.

'As I was passing along the street' (says Manucci) 'I saw the renegade in high delight, his chest covered half-way down with flowers. He was also elevated by a glass or two he had drunk, and he was chewing betel.' 'If it were not for their drinking habits' (remarks the sober Italian), 'Europeans would be held in high estimation, and could aid our kings to carry out some project.'

Our prudent Niccolao was himself an adventurer *pur sang*, as much as John White or any of them. He began his career in the orthodox manner as a stow-away on a *tartane* sailing from Venice in 1653. Luckily for him, he found on board that singular personage Henry Bard, first Viscount Bellomont, sometime fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and at the moment the exiled Charles II's ambassador accredited to 'the Emperour of Persia' and other high potentates on an exceedingly futile mission to obtain money for the restoration of his Majesty. Bellomont took the boy into his service, and together they travelled by way of Smyrna, Tebriz, and Kazwin to Ispahan, and had various audiences of Shah 'Abbas the Great and his minister, which, though interesting and often amusing, need not detain us. Of course no money was to be had, and Bellomont at length, after tedious delays and some attempts to humiliate him, withdrew in disgust in 1655, and took sail from Bandar 'Abbas for the kingdom of the Moguls, where he very suddenly died on the road to Delhi, and Manucci found himself stranded friendless in an unknown land.

It says a good deal for the boy's resolute character, and also for the reign of law established by Akbar, that this insignificant foreigner of seventeen years of age was able, with the help of a Frenchman in the artillery, to obtain justice and the restitution of his master's property. The youth made his obeisance at the levée of Shah Jahan, the most magnificent of all the Mogul emperors, and afterwards had an audience of Prince Dara, the Mogul's eldest son, who, finding the boy quick, and fairly fluent in Persian, invited him, 'with a smile,' to enter his service. Manucci's step was now fairly on the ladder. Though his generous patron, too cultured, too gentle, and perhaps too feather-brained for the grim crisis he had to meet, failed, and was murdered by his astute and remorseless brother Aurangzib, Manucci's career was set in India for the rest



of his life, and thenceforward for more than sixty years he played a not insignificant part in public affairs till his death at Madras about 1717.

The length of his residence in India is by itself an important factor in our estimate of his evidence. 'Travelling,' he observes, 'is a teacher of many things, and he who wanders without learning anything can only be said to have the head of an ass.' No other European certainly travelled so much and so long in the Mogul Empire. Hawkins and Roe each spent about three years in India; the visits of Mandelslo and della Valle may be reckoned in months; Fryer knew little beyond the country about Surat; Tavernier made several extensive journeys, but he was a diamond merchant and was chiefly interested in his trade. Bernier, who alone compares with Sir Thomas Roe or Manucci in the breadth of his outlook and the detail of his descriptions, was but seven years in the country, and, valuable as his book is, it is rather an academic dissertation than a record of personal experiences, and has neither the vividness nor the charm of Manucci's naïve narrative. Manucci had been in India already three years when Bernier arrived there, and he remained in India more than fifty years after Bernier left. When he wrote the latest date, 1706, in his memoirs, he had been half a century in the country.

In point of length of experience, then, Manucci stands alone among European authorities on India in the seventeenth century; and it is European evidence that we most need. If the 'giftie' be so necessary 'to see ourselves as others see us,' it is not less vital to students of Indian history to view the leading characters and events with eyes from outside India. The native historians are of unquestionable value, but most of them wrote to please a reigning prince, and panegyric and adulation too often mar their records. It is rare to find a critic so honest and so carping as crabbed Badaoni, who usefully discounted the smooth words of Abu-l-Fazl in the reign of Akbar. Another defect in the native chroniclers is that, naturally, they wrote as Indians for Indians, and assumed a familiarity with customs and manners which were everyday matters to natives but extremely surprising to foreigners. We shall get no lifelike portrait either of



men or of their times from the Persian historiographers of India. Only Europeans can make us understand these things from a European point of view, and no Western of his day has done so much for us in this respect as Manucci. It is not only that he lived in India for practically all his long life; it is that no one ever had more ample and varied opportunities, and very few possessed more acute powers of observation or more persevering inquisitiveness. In the diversity and range of his experiences he is as unique as in their duration. It is above all his opportunities that count, and the way he used them.

There were three series of events of supreme importance in the history of India during the second half of the seventeenth century. The first was the struggle for the throne between the sons of Shah Jahan in the time of their father's decrepitude—a struggle in which Aurangzib killed his brothers Dara and Murad Bakhsh and made Shah Jahan a prisoner till his death. The second was the thirty years' war which Aurangzib waged in the Deccan, first with the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, and afterwards with the new power of the Marathas—a war which was as far from its end at the time of the old emperor's death in 1707 as it was when he first took the field. The third was the growth of new European influences by the establishment of the English and French agencies at Madras and Pondicherry and the simultaneous decay of Portuguese domination. Of all these three movements Manucci was a close spectator and often an active agent. In the first, as an artilleryman in the service of Dara, he witnessed the advance of Aurangzib upon Agrah, was present at the decisive battle of Samugarh in 1658, knew all that was going on at Court, the intrigues and negotiations which centred round the captive but still resisting and tricky Mogul, and the skilful and perfidious diplomacy of Aurangzib. He was present when Murad Bakhsh was kidnapped by his merciless brother, and then he followed the hopeless fortunes of Dara until that unlucky prince was captured and executed. He knew most of the actors in that tragic drama personally, and when he had not first-hand knowledge he had ample means of information through his numerous acquaintance at the Court and in the armies.

In the second series of events, he was for some time

an honoured and welcome—so prized indeed as to be a captive—physician in the household of Shah 'Alam, Aurangzib's eldest son and successor, who was in command of the campaign in the Deccan; he was sent on missions to the Maratha leader; was raised to the aristocratic rank of Mansabdar, and afterwards resided at Madras, where his spies and his friends kept him well informed of the progress of the war, and where he was trusted by more than one English Governor to carry on negotiations with the Mogul forces. Living at Madras and visiting San Thome and Pondicherry, where he was on intimate terms of friendship with François Martin, the French Director-General (to gratify whom and M. Deslandes he 'consented' to write his memoirs), Manucci was naturally well acquainted with affairs in the English and French agencies, and his services were appreciated by both. Governor Pitt and the Council of Fort St George assigned him a house, at the Indian equivalent of a peppercorn rent, in reward for his work as interpreter and intermediary with the Mogul. He had also visited the English and Dutch factories at Dacca and Hugli; and if he says nothing about Calcutta, it must be remembered that Job Charnock did not effect his second landing there till 1690, and the importance of the Bengal agency belongs to the following century. Finally, Manucci resided for some years, in the aggregate of several visits, at Goa, and served the Portuguese Viceroy so well at more than one critical moment of their relations both with the Moguls and the Marathas, that he was accorded the knighthood of St Iago, a distinction at that time reserved exclusively for nobles or persons who had rendered signal service to the State. Thus he was trusted alike by Mohammedans, English, French, and Portuguese.

Probably no man in India was in a better position to know all sides of the tangled politics of the day, and it may almost be said of Manucci that what he did not know in that field was not worth knowing. He must have possessed exceptional powers of pleasing, for we find him friends with high and low of all classes, creeds, and nations, though he had his preferences and prejudices and never could quite bring himself to like a Portuguese, especially if he happened to be a

monk or friar. Good Catholic as he was, in spite of advantageous inducements to apostatise, he had very severe things to say about the jealousies, avarice, worldliness, and immorality of the religious orders, of which he particularly disliked the Society of Jesus, albeit he used his influence to obtain leave for them to build a church at Hugli; and he devotes the greater part of the last section of his memoirs to a prolix account of the persecution of the Capuchins by the Jesuits. A viceroy of Goa, he mentions with approval, was warned to 'fear more the nib of a Jesuit's pen than the point of an Arab's sword.' As for the Portuguese, after admitting that they had been a great people in the past, he gives his opinion of their contemporary character in no measured terms:

'At the present day, from what I have seen and experienced, I find that, instead of faithful men, they are unbelievers and pretenders. The cause I know not—whether it be because they are a mixture of Jews, Mohammedans, and Hindus, either having an admixture of their blood, or having drunk it in with their nurse's milk—but in place of just, they have become unjust; robbers and oppressors instead of disinterested men. They are avaricious, forgers, envious; from brave men they have turned into cowards, who by ambushes and treacheries slay simple folk. Instead of being men of their word, they are liars and deceivers; in place of being modest, they are shameless, miserable wretches. . . . I speak not of the Lusitanians who dwell in Europe. Yet even those Portuguese, on arriving in India, change in character and in name; each man claims to be of gentle birth, and a man of quality. Arrived in Goa, and on the point of dying of hunger, they retire into a convent, and hardly have two years elapsed before they are sent forth somewhere or other as vicars and become missionaries, and while quite young wield the great powers conferred on them by their prelates, which they make use of to the discredit of Christianity.'

If indeed half the tales Manucci tells about Goa are true, we can understand his denunciation of that Portuguese Capua as a place 'dominated by some disquieting planet or by demons who throw it into confusion, filling it with murder, disunion, and oppression.' We read of rival bodies of monks concealing cutlasses and firearms under their frocks and fighting in the open streets. 'In the end they threw the prior out of a window, and he died

from the injuries. This happened at the convent of the Augustinians.' The Jesuits are accused of keeping up houses of ill-fame for profit. We can almost fancy ourselves reading a sequel to the 'Decameron' as we peruse story after story of the profligacy of the religious orders, and not Christian alone. Brahmans, Hindu yogis, and Mohammedan fakirs are all equally portrayed as monsters of sensuality and 'the greatest villains in the world.' As to the domestic vices, neither Boccaccio nor Balzac ever imagined anything more abandoned or more ingenious than the intrigues at Goa and S. Thome. The 'Contes Drolâtiques' pale before these lurid anecdotes; and although Mr Irvine has occasionally been compelled to resort to dots of omission or a Latin translation, enough remains to shock or to convulse with Rabelaisian laughter, according to the reader's mood and taste. The stories of the barbarous treatment of slaves bear the stamp, we fear, of truth; and it was said that the skeleton of a murdered slave might be found buried in the neighbourhood of most Portuguese houses. Horrible tricks were played at S. Thome with 'devil dolls,' sorcery, and all kinds of repulsive superstitions. Antonio de Viveros

'lived by the sale of poisons, raising false accusations against married women in the hope that the husbands might buy poison from him. It was noted that twenty-nine married women had died of poison sold by this man to their husbands,'

to whom he would kindly advance it on credit if they were short of money. Manucci relates these tales with considerable complacency. He reminds us in a faint degree of the incomparable Sieur de Brantôme, with his mock discretion about ladies' names—*que je ne nommerai point*—and his perfunctory ejaculations of pious horror at the close of an exceptionally scabrous story.

With people of such morals, however—entertaining though he found them—our virtuous Manucci would have no truck; but with these exceptions he was evidently on excellent terms with a large acquaintance, and *bien vu* in the best society. He was clearly a glib, plausible fellow, with a 'good conceit of himself,' and a firm conviction that people were likely to accept him at his own valuation, but certainly no higher. He had a fine independent spirit, in spite of his courtly *kotows*, for he repeatedly

refused employment under Aurangzib, because he abhorred him, and also under I'tibar Khan, whose 'face did not please' him; 'to speak properly, he had the face of a baboon.' If he received presents obsequiously he had also been known to reject them or fling them on the ground. He kept his parole when he had every reason, save honour, to break it; and so little would he put up with insolence that he used his lancet to bleed a man because he insulted him. He prides himself upon his fine flow of conversation in the various languages of India, which ingratiated him especially with women, and there is no doubt he thought himself a tremendous lady-killer, as indeed perhaps he was. He was fond of dress; and though his two portraits do not reveal much of the 'fatal gift,' he had numerous offers of marriage from widows, and even maids, of sundry races and faiths, all of which he repulsed or escaped, until his final marriage, 'by the favour of God, on St Simon's and St Jude's day,' 1686, at Madras, with a lady of 'virtues and sound doctrine,' the English widow of Thomas Clarke.

As far as can be judged from a man's own evidence—and Manucci was not one to hide even an immoral light under a bushel—he kept himself straight amidst the feminine blandishments of Hindustan, and even behaved now and then like a very St Anthony, whether out of principle or prudence it is needless to enquire. What he says, very wisely, is: 'As I had no intention of marrying, it did not suit my views to get entangled.' Indeed, he gave himself great airs in presence of the fair; and when Shah 'Alam's chief wife, who had 'a great affection' for the lively doctor, proposed to find him any wife he liked from among the Christians, Armenians or others, he very haughtily declined any such *mésalliance*, on the high ground that he was 'a man of family' (which he was not) and could not mate out of his own class; whereat the princess was much astonished, for Mohammedans, she said, 'took anybody without regard to their birth.' After which, it seems strange that he could put up with widow Clarke, in spite of her sound doctrine. The worst irregularity that he records against himself is peeping into a dancing-girl's palanquin which he 'held up' on the high road; but this was in his young days when he rather prided himself upon playing the Mohock. We

need not credit his gasconades about bearding *kazis*, charging men in buckram, and the like, for he was always very careful to keep a whole skin on him and fully appreciated the wisdom of 'living to fight another day.' It is amusing to find this untrained Venetian lad volunteering to exhibit sabre exercise to the admiration of a Mogul general. But he was certainly a clever youth, and could do many things. For example, he taught the mighty Rajput Raja Jai Singh to play ombre, and he ventured even to treat the most exalted princes and princesses as their body physician. Considering his total inexperience he could hardly have dared more.

To be a doctor in India, nevertheless, was the natural destiny of a quick-witted, smooth-talking European, however little qualified in other respects; and to the opportunities acquired in the exercise of this profession Manucci owed his unrivalled insight into the manners, intrigues, and politics of the time. As he says himself:

'If medicine had not opened to me the road, I should never have been able to learn the curious details of court life. It was medicine that opened to me the door of many nobles and of the principal ladies of the palace, where I penetrated to the most hidden quintessence of their secrets. Monsieur Bernier could well have practised medicine, it being his profession; but for good and sufficient reasons he refrained, for he knew that if he did he would be in danger of his life.'

The risk lay not only in the jealousy of the native, and still more the European, practitioners, who were quite equal to poisoning or stabbing a rival if milder measures did not answer, but in the disgrace and worse which would follow a failure in treating a person of rank. Manucci was more than once attacked by bravos, and suffered for a long time from a dose of poison, but his prudence and adroitness saved him, aided by the gracious influence of the princesses (and the devotion of their maids), whom he had apparently benefited by his therapeutic experiments, and many of whom took a fancy to him. It was years before he ventured to style himself physician, but some practice was forced upon him almost from the first, and his earliest patient, an Uzbek 'savage' of revolting habits and constitution, recovered, thanks mainly to the friendly counsel of a

Portuguese apothecary. From other friends, as he says, 'little by little,' he picked up hints and collected medical books and herbals; but he was still in an extremely elementary stage when at last, in 1672, he 'started' in practice at Lahore, a centre which he chose, wisely enough, because there was no other European doctor there.

'Many came to talk with me, and in return I had no want of words, God having given me a sufficiently mercurial temperament. Thus it began to be noised abroad in Lahore that a Frank doctor had arrived, a man of fine manners, eloquent speech, and great experience. I rejoiced at such a reputation, but my heart beat fast, for then I had had no experience.'

As luck would have it, no less a person fell sick than the favourite wife of the Kazi, and she had been given up by all the Persian and Indian doctors when Manucci (Heaven help her!) was called in.

'The attack was growing more and more severe, and no pulse could be felt, nor could I find out the seat of the disease. I trusted more to several secret experiments I knew, and to my questions. . . . But the patient was already speechless.'

The new doctor racked his brains to think of a remedy, and at length decided on a treatment which we shall not disclose, since it would interest only those who take pleasure in the therapeutics of Molière's 'Malade Imaginaire.' But the question was how to carry it out.

'I came forth from this house' (he says) 'leaving an excellent impression from my many questions and my copious flow of talk. But now came the moment when our Nicolao Manuchy [*sic*] found himself in a difficulty. For I knew not what ingredients I must employ, nor to what implements I could have recourse for this wonderful operation.'

His mother-wit carried him safely over the obstacle, and the patient recovered, to his immense relief, for her death would have been also the deathblow to his own reputation, a thing as easily destroyed as made.

'A happy cure at the start suffices to give the greatest credit, even if the cure be a mere accident. On the contrary, if there is a failure in the first case, even when the doctor is exceedingly learned and experienced, it suffices to prevent him ever being esteemed.'



Fortunately for Manucci the first case was a triumphant success, and he was so 'proud and elated' that he uttered some complacent admonitions, remarking

'how necessary it was to confide in experienced physicians; and that if I had not given her this medicament, composed of ingredients known to me alone, the patient was bound to die. . . . Thus there began to be talk of the Farangi doctor who was capable of resuscitating the dead. This caused me to be called in by many sick persons; and by adhering to certain books I had, I succeeded by God's favour in almost every case in which I was sent for.'

He generally took the precaution, however, of announcing the probability of a fatal termination to the illness, which alike saved his reputation in case of death and augmented it in the event of an unexpected cure. He was of course a quack and a charlatan; he traded on the superstitions of the natives by pretending to hold dialogues with demons, to their abject terror, and by fumigating devils 'with great increase of reputation and still greater diversion for myself.' His specific for cholera was the application of the actual cautery, a red hot iron, to the feet, and he had great faith in certain 'secrets' of his, such as 'cordials,' which he 'manufactured regardless of expense,' and medicinal stones like those used by the Jesuit doctors of Goa. He very nearly came to an untimely end by adding to his pharmacopœia 'human myrrh,' i.e. fat taken from the corpse of a corpulent Mohammedan who had been executed. The nephew of the provider pursued him sword in hand, but relented on discovering that the 'myrrh' of his uncle was used only for ointments and was not actually swallowed by the Faithful. Fortunately it made little difference how skilful or how ignorant a doctor might be when it came to treating Mohammedan ladies unseen. Diagnosis was not worth much where a patient could not be examined. Manucci tells us, 'When a physician enters, he is conducted by the eunuchs with his head and body covered as far down as the waist, and he is taken out again in the same way.' Nevertheless, some great ladies (who are not, however, without their modern analogues) were in the habit of 'affecting the invalid simply in order to have some conversation with, and



have their pulse felt by a physician,' with whose hand they would often take curious liberties within the *pardah*, which our discreet doctor 'pretended not to notice.' Physicians, he candidly adds, 'are very well treated by these ladies, and they on their side maintain much discretion both in their way of acting and in their speech, which is always restrained and polished.'

Chief among princesses, Aurangzib's wife, the mother of Shah 'Alam, showed Manucci

'great affection because I had attended her and bled her several times, in addition to which she had often to send for me, as she suffered much from gout. As it was I who prescribed for her, she often sent me some dainty, as is the fashion of these ladies to do to those they esteem. When I bled her, she put her arm out from the curtain, but wrapped up, leaving only one little spot uncovered, about as wide as two fingers, close to the veins. For that attendance I got from her four hundred rupees and a *sarapa* (set of robes) as a present, and I bled her regularly twice a year. . . .

'Every month the princesses and the ladies have themselves bled, which is done in the way I have above described. It is just the same when they have . . . any wound dressed. Nothing is ever shown but the part affected, or the vein they wished opened. When I bled the wives and daughters of Shah 'Alam each of them gave me two hundred rupees and a *sarapa*; but when I had to bleed that prince, who was my employer, and he was at the court, I could not do it without the leave of the king [Aurangzib]. For this bleeding I got four hundred rupees, a *sarapa*, and a horse. When I had finished I had to report to the king the quantity of blood I had drawn, what was the prince's reigning humour,' etc.

As the rupee was then worth more than two shillings, 20*l.* to 40*l.* for bleeding a prince or princess, with horses and robes of honour thrown in, was very tolerable pay for a gentleman who had not had a laborious and costly training in hospitals or passed the examinations of the College of Surgeons, and it is not surprising to learn that Manucci made (and lost) more than one fortune by his profession. Perhaps the most difficult case he encountered of the invincible bashfulness of the Moham-medan lady patient was that of the princess, a niece of Aurangzib's, who was stabbed by her husband. Manucci was brought to her house at the gallop, 'stopping for

neither hucksters' stalls nor people'; but when he got there he found that he could not be allowed to see or examine the royal lady without the special permission of the Emperor. So he asked minute questions, made his 'tents and plasters,' told the servants how to apply them, and 'by God's help the treatment succeeded, and in eleven days I healed her completely.'

Manucci, it should be mentioned, was granted by peculiar favour the permission to enter ladies' sick-rooms without first wrapping his head in a cloth, because, said his employer, Shah 'Alam, 'the minds of Christian men are not filthy like those of Mohammedans.' No doubt his skill was perilously crude, but he had some happy ideas. No prescription he ever ordered was more successful than the one he advised for a hysterical servant-girl in a royal harim, who was suffering from insomnia and various odd symptoms. He prescribed marriage, and the result was all that could be desired. Thereafter the wise doctor was besieged by domestic spinsters asking for the same prescription.

'These people' (he remarks) 'were subsequently very grateful for the kindness I had done them, and gave me proof of it from time to time. It is through them that I have been informed of many particulars as to what went on in the court of this prince. . . . All other Mohammedans also pass the greater part of their time among their women. This is so much the case that through them much important business at court is transacted. For my part, I have done a great deal thus, principally through the first princess.'

If we have dwelt at perhaps undue length upon Manucci's experiences as a physician, it is because this was his business in India and because from these experiences he obtained his wonderful knowledge of current affairs. Women and servants were his best informants, and hence his memoirs have been spoken of somewhat slightly as 'backstairs gossip.' The servants' hall unquestionably was one of his most useful telephone receivers, and the source has given its twang to his tone. But after all it is difficult to see how an undistinguished foreigner could obtain information from any other source. Manucci, indeed, was on exceptionally favoured terms with a few of the princes, statesmen, and generals of the time, but we cannot suppose, and there is nothing in the

'Storia' to warrant it, that they talked family gossip with him or revealed secrets.

Whatever the source of his varied and often exceedingly indiscreet information, we are disposed to believe that it is usually well-founded. Where his own vanity and boastfulness are not concerned or his special prejudices against the Portuguese, the Jesuits and, above all, Aurangzib himself—of whom he has never a good word to say, and with whom he consistently refused to take service—are not excited, we see no cause to doubt his veracity. He is transparently candid and does not pretend to have been an eye-witness when he was not. It is obviously impossible to check many of his revelations of court and especially of harim life; but there is nothing improbable in what he records, and, considering his ample opportunities for getting inside information, and his habit of citing his informants now and then (such as Thomazia Martins, the princess Roshanara's servant, who, 'through the affection she had for me, . . . informed me of what passed inside the palace'), one may usually accept his statements. When these can be compared with the English official records—as has been most carefully done by the learned editor—the result is to confirm Manucci's veracity. His chronology, it is true, is not accurate, for there is an error of two years in the earlier part of his 'Storia,' and many of the other dates are wrong. Mr Irvine has also been at the pains to compare Manucci's accounts with those of the native Persian chroniclers, and has shown not a few discrepancies; but this does not prove the Venetian to be the one at fault. We do not see any reason *a priori* for attaching greater weight to a native historian than to a European, if both were contemporary witnesses to the events described. Manucci's honesty is at least as probable as that of the native panegyrists. Both, naturally, record many things at second or third hand; and the European 'doctor's' sources of information were evidently quite as numerous, varied, and authentic as those of the Indian chroniclers, for he drew on contemporary Portuguese, French, and English sources, as well as upon the reports of natives, by whom he was well supplied with current news. He seems to write entirely from his own materials, and to have used no native

works, except for the account of the earlier events of Mogul history, and this, whatever it is based on, is mere legend of no greater value than the folk-tales and other stories which he has also incorporated. He was acquainted with Bernier's book, which he several times controverts, but from which he borrowed very little, if indeed he borrowed at all. Bernier and he were acquainted. Manucci speaks of the Frenchman as 'a great friend'; and it is as likely that Bernier obtained information from talk with Manucci, as contrariwise. There is no evidence that he met Tavernier or had seen his 'Travels,' though he refers to him once or twice. In short, any doubts that formerly existed as to the authenticity and credibility of Manucci's book were due to his misrepresentation in the only form in which he has hitherto been known, Catrou's garbled and mangled paraphrase.

Manucci's long residence in India and his unique experience of its most intimate life, enabled him to draw such a picture of his times as may be looked for in vain in any other writer. From a literary point of view, indeed, he is open to much criticism. Unlike Bernier, he was not a cultivated man and has no pretensions to style, nor does his language ever rise to eloquence. We must not expect from him balanced judgments based upon a wide acquaintance with history or European government, or upon a study of philosophic principles. His 'Storia' is ill put together, although it begins well with a consecutive narrative of his own doings and current events down to the accession of Aurangzib. Indeed it maintains a fair measure of method down to the author's settlement at Madras in 1686. Then follows a rambling but valuable account of the Mogul government, court, army, local administration, taxes, manners and customs, concluding with this remarkable forecast:

'Having set forth all this grandeur and power of the Moguls, I will, with the reader's permission, assert, from what I have seen and tested, that to sweep it entirely away and occupy the whole empire nothing is required but a corps of thirty thousand trusty European soldiers, led by competent commanders, who would thereby easily acquire the glory of great conquerors.'

This general survey completes the three parts of the work as originally planned; but Manucci added a fourth

and fifth part, continuing to write as long as he was able, and these sequels are a chaotic jumble of notes relating to different periods of his life, set down as they occurred to him, without any attempt at arrangement. But whether well or ill arranged, his memoirs have this great quality from first to last—they are vivid. Age and the distance of years from events described did not dim Manucci's clear vision, and he describes them with the gift of the born *raconteur*, never neglecting that particularity of detail which makes the life of a story, introducing little personal touches that convince one they are authentic, and enlivening the narrative with a quaint vein of humour and many characteristic revelations of his own personality. He was full of generous sympathy for the misfortunes of those he loved; and when Dara lost the fatal battle of Samugarh, mainly through the treachery of Khalilullah Khan, who thus avenged himself for private wrongs, Manucci's indignation was such that, when he rode back to Agrah, he told furious lies to make the traitor's household miserable. It is a very natural touch :

'Seeing our total defeat, I made in haste for the city of Agrah, where I arrived at ten o'clock at night. The whole city was in an uproar, for a Portuguese called Antonio de Azevedo, who early in the battle had witnessed the plunder of the baggage, rode off at full speed. On arriving at the city of Agrah at two o'clock in the afternoon, his horse fell dead at his door. Thus the news began to spread that Dara had lost the battle, and the confusion was increased by Dara's non-arrival. The curiosity of everyone was aroused to know how the defeat had happened, and men asked each passer-by about the safety of his master. This happened to me. An old woman asked me what had become of Khalilullah Khan. Owing to the rage I was in at his treachery, I replied at once that I was present when he was torn to pieces. The old woman was very disconsolate, and, hastening her steps, went off to give this news at his house. Much weeping and lamenting was caused thereby, they supposing it to be the truth, for I had entered into some details on purpose.'

Here is a vivid sketch in the middle of the fight :

'Ram Singh . . . coming close up to Murad Bakhsh with his brave Rajputs, stuck his elephant and its howdah full of arrows, and killed the *cornac* or man who guides the elephant. Finally, they planted three arrows in the face of Murad

Bakhsh. He had as much as he could do to defend his life, to guide his elephant, and to look after his restless infant son [whom he had brought for luck or to accustom the child to the sight of battle]. The boy was so anxious to see what was going on that his father was forced to cover him with his shield and put his foot over his head.'

The story of the gradual disarming of the sleeping Murad Bakhsh by means of a child, and his subsequent binding and carrying off to prison, is told with the same realistic details by the bystander. Manucci, however, does not carry his love of detail quite so far as the gunner of the Sloane MSS. No. 811, who records that when Dara's head was brought in to his triumphant brother, Aurangzib stamped on the face, whereupon 'the head laft a loud *ha, ha, ha!* in the hearing of all, I, J. Cambell, present.' We may quote, as a good example of Manucci's narrative power, his account of his escape from sharing the fate of his commander, the eunuch Basant, during the closing days of the struggle for the throne:

'We came forth by a postern-gate, when we saw some thirty men with swords in their hands, who came at me, saying, "Let us kill him; he, too, is of the eunuch's force." The man with me then laid one arm upon me, and, waving the other hand, demanded in the king's name that they should not kill me nor lay hands on me. But they were keen to plunder me, and told him he had become my advocate simply to strip me himself; but, grieve him as it might, they meant to kill me and appropriate my clothes. Recognising their purpose and seeing them approach, I took off my turban there and then, and the rest of my vestments, being left with nothing but my under-drawers and my shirt. I threw the clothes to them, and my defender conducted me a little farther; then he said I might go on in security, as I was now out of danger. But just as I imagined I was free, there came towards me a soldier, a Hindu rustic, holding a drawn sword, who, with many abusive terms and threats, requested me to make over my shirt to him. Enraged at finding myself amidst so much persecution and so many affronts, I said he might kill me if he liked, but I would never give him the shirt. Overwhelming him with abuse, I provided him with cause for despatching me; but he did not want to damage the shirt, so he allowed me to live. In the end I decided to give up the shirt, so I took it off in a rage, rather than lose my life. With my head sunk I went on my way, running considerable danger,

although stripped naked and full of grief and shame. . . . On my way a woman met me and offered me a sheet with which to cover myself, saying that when I got home I could send it back to her. But, not willing to be indebted to her, I declined, and went on my way in the same pitiable state. When I was only a little distance from my friend's house I saw coming towards me the captain of infantry, whose teeth I had broken with a stone. He recognised me, but took compassion on my plight, and, lowering his head, made no attempt to do me harm. Thence in a few more steps I got into the house of my friend Dulha, to whom I recounted all that had happened to me. He welcomed me with great warmth, accorded me full rights of hospitality, and gave me clothes and food. I did not forget to render thanks to God for all His mercies and for deliverance from so many perils.'

Even when he is describing scenes which he could not have seen himself, Manucci still preserves this essential particularity of detail. His descriptions of the drinking habits and other 'diversions' of the Mogul princesses are damagingly circumstantial, and the account of Aurangzib's sad discomfiture when his other wives delightedly sent him to view his favourite Udepuri in a shocking state of intoxication, is too real to be invented. The funniest of these *chroniques scandaleuses* is the one which relates how Begam Sahib—a princess who used to supply Manucci with her own special vintage, in which she indulged to such an extent that 'sometimes she was unable to stand, and they had to carry her to bed'—circumvented Aurangzib when he issued strict orders against women indulging in the forbidden drink, or wearing any but very loose trousers :

'When Padshah Begam, otherwise Begam Sahib, learnt of this new rule, she invited the wives of the *qazi* and other learned men to her mansion, and gave them wine until they were drunk. Aurangzeb came to her palace and referred to the restrictions under which he had placed women. He made excuses, saying he was under an obligation to make the law obeyed. She had never heard, she said, that those things were entered in the Book of the Law. But Aurangzeb told her that such was the opinion of all the learned. Thereupon Padshah Begam invited the king within the *pardah*, where he saw the wives of the said learned men all lying drunk and in disorder, and also wearing tight trousers on their legs !

'Upon this Padshah Begam said to him that if such things



were part of the Faith, the learned should not allow their wives and daughters to go about clothed in that fashion, nor should they permit them to drink intoxicating drugs. Instead of issuing laws for others, they required to regulate their own households. Thus was appeased the storm which had been raised against women.'

It is impossible even to refer to a tenth of the curious and interesting materials contained in the two thousand pages of these four volumes. We have limited ourselves to a consideration of Manucci's work rather as a picture of life in India in the latter part of the seventeenth century, than from the special point of view of the Indian historian. We have shown that the book is full of interest of the most varied kind to the ordinary reader, and that on the whole it may be relied on as a true account of the times. But it is only the special historian of Mohammedan India who is capable of appreciating the high importance of Manucci's record and its full bearing upon previously published authorities. Such special students will naturally turn to other than the more popularly attractive features upon which we have dwelt, and they will acknowledge their deep indebtedness to Mr Irvine for the elaborate notes and references, the comprehensive index of two hundred and forty columns, and the scholarly introduction with which he has enriched the work. Mr Irvine's qualifications for the laborious task he has successfully accomplished are certainly unique, and where he felt himself wanting in any degree he has availed himself of the skilled assistance of friendly scholars in their several departments. It would not be easy to exaggerate the service which he has rendered to all students of Indian history by his learned annotations. He slurs over no difficulties, and his range of reading and wide bibliographical apparatus enable him to deal with nearly all in a satisfactory manner. When a word in the original MSS. appears to him doubtful or unintelligible, he gives it in a note with conjectural emendations. It is of course impossible to criticise the accuracy of his translation, because the original texts have never been printed; and it must be agreed that to print a text which is written partly in Portuguese, partly in French, and partly in Italian, would serve no adequate purpose in



relation to the cost. Mr Irvine's scholarship in other languages is such that we might safely trust him to render the modern vernaculars of Manucci, even if his notes on difficult passages did not prove his competence. He has chosen a simple, direct style, which, if it sometimes seems a little too conversational, probably reproduces the effect of the original with all necessary exactness.

The history of the original MSS. forms a new chapter in the curiosities of literature. The MS. of the first three parts was brought over from India to Paris in 1701 by Manucci's friend, M. Boureau Deslandes, who lent it to Père François Catrou, of the Society of Jesus—the very last body into whose hands the author would have wished it to pass. Catrou made it into a readable book; he extracted and garbled, added from unnamed sources, and deprived it of all semblance of authority. He not only made it impossible for any reader to find out how much was from Manucci, and what from *scriptor ignotus*, but, even when reproducing the Venetian's narrative, he altered it to suit his own ideas of style. Manucci's simple unadorned language was abhorrent to the priest's classical taste. 'J'ai préféré,' (says he) 'un stile figuré, conformément aux historiens grecs et latins, au stile plus simple que M. Manouchi a affecté.' Naturally no historian could accept Catrou's 'Histoire Générale de l'Empire du Mogol . . . sur les Mémoires Portugais de M. Manouchi, Vénitien,' as an authentic document, and Manucci has consequently lain ever since under the stigma of the clerical journalist's perversions. One after another the various English historians of India have lamented that the genuine original work was not at their disposal, while it never occurred to any of them to look for it.

The singular fact is that the MS. was never at any time out of the reach of the learned. Catrou himself, 'to satisfy the incredulous,' boldly offered to show it to any one who suspected him of tampering (as he undoubtedly did tamper) with Manucci's meaning. The document remained in the Jesuits' library at Paris till the sale which followed the expulsion of the order in 1763. It appeared in the sale catalogue, but nobody noticed it. It then remained hidden in the well-known library of the purchaser of many of the Jesuits' books, Baron Gérard Meerman, at the Hague, where even the learned Dutchmen

ignored it; and, as if it were not a sufficient triumph of secrecy to inter itself successfully for over a hundred years in two conspicuous and frequented libraries, this elusive MS. once more evaded discovery for another half-century and more in that remarkably open hiding-place, Sir Thomas Phillipps' celebrated library at Middle Hill, whence it furtively betook itself to the Royal Library at Berlin, apparently secure against detection. In all the phases of its locomotion there was never the smallest difficulty in seeing the document. It was catalogued in all these libraries and entered in the catalogues of their sales. Yet nobody seemed to have noticed it, till Mr Archibald Constable, the editor of Bernier's 'Travels,' thought of looking for it at Berlin, and of course immediately found it. The news reached Mr Irvine, who had it copied, and these four substantial volumes are the result.

Even this does not exhaust the astonishing vanishing powers of Manucci's MSS. When the unhappy author found that his work had got into the hands of his enemies the Jesuits, who had despitefully used it and deprived it of all authority, and had besides pocketed the proceeds of at least five editions without paying a *sou* to the begetter and owner of the work, he was, not without excuse, extremely wroth; and while finely denouncing the thieves in a letter to the Senate of his native Venice, he sent a second copy (the original draft of the Paris MS., together with the additional fourth and fifth parts), and entreated the Senate to do him justice by publishing it. This was not done; but, strictly in accordance with the precedent at Paris, the second copy became lost for two hundred years in the place of all others where every scholar resorts, the famous library of St Mark's. It arrived at Venice in 1706; it appeared in Zanetti's catalogue in 1741; and, though it seems that Bernouilli and Cardinal Zurca were both aware of its existence, no one else paid any attention to it, until Mr Irvine, not to be outdone in detective work even by Mr Constable, came upon the clue and followed it up. It seems incredible; but even this is not the end of the losing of Manucci. Fern-seed, it would seem, was sprinkled over every line he wrote. When Mr Irvine went to Venice to collate the MS. there with the Paris-Meerman-Phillipps-Berlin

codex, there was no Portuguese original of Part v to be found, and he had to translate this part from an early Italian version of it made by the Commendatore Diogo Cardeira. It now appears, from a note on the title-page to Part v, that 'the Portuguese and French original . . . has come to [Mr Irvine's] notice at the last moment; it does not appear in the Zanetti catalogue, but its present classification is No. 135, class vi.' In the expressive language of the sister island, 'this beats Banagher.' We thought we had come to the end of the game of hide-and-seek when MSS. which had been lurking in four well-known and well-catalogued libraries had, with infinite patience and precaution, been finally exhumed; but even Mr Irvine, it appears, had not quite escaped the fate of his predecessors in their search for the elusive manuscripts which have triumphantly fooled the historians of India for two centuries.

However, at the very last moment, the last of the fugitives made its reluctant appearance, and happily its bashfulness did not occasion any grave inconvenience, since it turns out that it offers only unimportant variants from the Italian version. Mr Irvine, we trust, may now rest assured that there is nothing more to be found; and of this, at least, we are very confident, that he has made the best possible use of the important MSS. which he has discovered and collated, and has brilliantly edited the most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history and life of India, as seen by European witnesses, that has ever been published. We cannot conclude without referring to the portraits, which were specially copied for Manucci, from originals in the royal palace, by Mir Mohammed, an official of Shah 'Alam, and are reproduced from the volume in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, where they were brought with other loot from Venice by Napoleon in 1797. They add much to the interest and beauty of these volumes, which handsomely inaugurate the series of Indian texts issued under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

## Art. 8.—THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF GERMANY.

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2. *Deutschlands Stellung in der Weltwirtschaft.* By Prof. Dr Paul Arndt. Leipzig : Teubner, 1908.
3. *Die Finanzen der Grossmächte.* By Dr Friedrich Zahn. Berlin : Heymanns, 1908.
4. *Deutsches Volksvermögen.* By Arnold Steinmann-Bucher. Berlin : Elsner, 1909.
5. *Report on the Finances of the German Empire for the Year 1909.* By Count de Salis, Councillor to His Majesty's Embassy at Berlin. London : Harrison, 1910.
6. *Report on the Trade and Commerce of the Consular District of Frankfort for the Year April 1908 to April 1909.* By Consul-General Sir Francis Oppenheimer. London : Harrison, 1909.
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THE material progress of Germany is one of the most notable features of the economic history of the world during the past forty years. The growth of German wealth and foreign trade since 1870 has a great significance for Europe generally and for this country in particular. It has enabled Germany to provide means for the maintenance of the most efficient and powerful army in the world; and within the past ten or twelve years it has encouraged her rulers to embark upon a policy of naval expansion which will in all probability place her in a position in a few years to challenge our supremacy upon the sea. The question, therefore, whether Germany will be able to continue to maintain her military and naval expenditure at the very high level of recent years without straining the financial resources of the Empire to breaking point is one of vital importance to this country; and from this point of view it is proposed to discuss in the following pages the economic position of the German Empire at the present time.

The growth of her population has been one of the

main causes of Germany's economic development. In 1907, when the last census was taken, the total population was 61,720,529, as compared with 51,770,284 in June 1895, and 45,229,113 in June 1882. Between 1882 and 1895 the population increased at the rate of 14·45 per cent; but between 1895 and 1907 the rate of increase was augmented to 19·22 per cent., a ratio of increase which no other leading European State, with the exception of Russia, has approached. This rate of expansion will perhaps be better illustrated by the statement that between 1882 and 1895 the population increased at the average rate of 436,000 per annum, while between 1895 and 1907 the average rate of increase was 821,000 per annum. At the present time the population is increasing at the rate of nearly 1,000,000 per annum, and it is estimated that by the end of 1921 the inhabitants of Germany will number approximately 75,000,000. It is instructive to compare the changes in the relative position of Germany and the other great Powers in this respect since 1815.

|                        | Population in |                        |             |                        |             |                        |
|------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|------------------------|
|                        | 1815.         |                        | 1880.       |                        | 1907.*      |                        |
|                        |               | Per cent.<br>of total. |             | Per cent.<br>of total. |             | Per cent.<br>of total. |
| Austria-Hungary }      | 28,000,000    | 19·6                   | 38,000,000  | 16·3                   | 45,400,000  | 14·2                   |
| France . .             | 29,000,000    | 20·4                   | 37,000,000  | 15·5                   | 39,200,000  | 12·3                   |
| Germany . .            | 21,000,000    | 14·5                   | 45,000,000  | 18·7                   | 61,700,000  | 19·6                   |
| Russia<br>(European) } | 48,000,000    | 33·5                   | 84,000,000  | 35                     | 128,000,000 | 40                     |
| United<br>Kingdom }    | 17,000,000    | 12                     | 35,000,000  | 14·5                   | 44,500,000  | 13·9                   |
| Total. .               | 143,000,000   |                        | 239,000,000 |                        | 318,800,000 |                        |

\* Or latest date for which the figures are available.

The comparative stagnation of the growth of population in France is one of the most noteworthy facts revealed by the figures contained in the above table. It will be observed also that the position of the United Kingdom is a declining one, and that Austria-Hungary too shows a relative decrease. The remarkable extent of the relative and actual growth of the population of Russia will be noted with satisfaction; and it is evidently to this country that Europe must look for the maintenance of

the equilibrium of power so far as it is capable of regulation by the increase of population.

In June 1907 a census was taken throughout Germany enquiring into all industries in which the population was engaged; and the following is a summary of the results obtained by a comparison of the figures contained in the three censuses of 1882, 1895, and 1907:

|   | 1882.     | 1895.     | 1907.     |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|   | Per cent. | Per cent. | Per cent. |
| Agriculture . . . . .                     | 42·51     | 35·74     | 28·65     |
| Industry . . . . .                        | 35·51     | 39·12     | 42·75     |
| Trade and commerce . . . . .              | 10·02     | 11·52     | 13·41     |
| Servants . . . . .                        | 2·07      | 1·71      | 1·29      |
| Soldiers, officials, professions. . . . . | 4·92      | 5·48      | 5·52      |
| Of no occupation . . . . .                | 4·97      | 6·43      | 8·38      |

An examination of the returns reveals the fact that agriculture is still by far the most important occupation, although relatively it is losing its predominant position. In 1882 42·51 per cent. of the population were occupied in agriculture; at the census of 1895 the percentage had declined to 35·74; and at the census of 1907 it had further declined to 28·65 per cent. The retrogression was not only relative but absolute, and the actual number of the population engaged in agriculture fell from 18,500,000 in 1895 to 17,680,000 in 1907. On the other hand, the number of the population engaged in industry has risen from 20,250,000 to 26,380,000. Although the agricultural industry is a declining one its productivity appears to be increasing; and at a recent meeting of the Prussian Diet the Minister for Agriculture stated that the production of various kinds of corn had increased from 4,900,000 tons in 1880 to 10,700,000 tons in 1908, and that of potatoes during the same period from 19,000,000 tons to 46,000,000 tons.

One of the principal causes why the population of Germany has increased at such a rapid rate is the fact that emigration has since 1895 been on a very small scale. From 1881 to 1885 the annual average was 171,000 per annum; since then the number has declined materially, and during the year 1908 the number of German oversea emigrants was only 19,883.

The growth of population is one of the most formid-

able problems with which the rulers of Germany have to deal. The necessity of finding fresh markets for her manufactures becomes more acute each year. With an annual addition of 1,000,000 to her population, and her transition from an agricultural to an industrial population, the dependence of Germany upon foreign trade is bound to become greater, and this consideration is destined to have a far-reaching effect upon Anglo-German relations during the next decade.

Although the economic forces which have contributed to the greatness of modern Germany were at work long before 1870, their manifestation, so far as the foreign trade of the Empire is concerned, appears to date from that year. It will be desirable, therefore, to review briefly the growth of Germany's imports and exports since 1870. It is estimated that in 1869 the imports of the German States amounted to 141,000,000*l.* and the exports to 129,000,000*l.* For some years after the creation of the Empire its foreign trade did not expand at a very rapid rate; but from 1889 onwards her progress has been remarkable, and its extent is shown in the following table:

|                     | 1889.       | 1898.       | 1908.       |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                     | £           | £           | £           |
| Imports . . .       | 199,480,000 | 254,030,000 | 383,200,000 |
| Exports . . .       | 158,240,000 | 187,830,000 | 319,925,000 |
| Excess of imports . | 41,240,000  | 66,200,000  | 63,275,000  |

Between 1889 and 1898 there was an increase of 27 per cent. in the value of the imports, and an increase of 18·8 per cent. in the value of the exports. But between 1898 and 1908 the increase of foreign trade was nearly twice as great as during the previous decade. The value of commodities imported during 1908 was 50·8 per cent. more than in 1898, while during the same period the exports increased to the extent of 70·7 per cent. There is reason to believe that this vast increase was due in some measure to the investment of German capital abroad in those years. Within the comparatively short period of twenty years, it will be observed, Germany has practically doubled her foreign trade.



The comparative figures for the United Kingdom are as follows :

|                     | 1889.            | 1898.            | 1908.            |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Imports . . .       | £<br>427,637,595 | £<br>470,544,702 | £<br>592,593,487 |
| Exports . . .       | 315,592,679      | 294,013,988      | 456,727,521      |
| Excess of imports . | 112,044,916      | 176,530,714      | 135,865,966      |

The expansion of British trade during the twenty years referred to was not nearly so great as that of German trade. Between 1889 and 1898 the imports increased to the extent of 10 per cent.; but the exports showed an actual decrease of 21,578,000*l.* or 7·3 per cent. Between 1898 and 1908, however, the course of our foreign trade was more favourable. Imports increased to the extent of 122,049,000*l.*, or 25·9 per cent., and the exports were valued at 456,727,521*l.*, or 55·3 per cent. more than in 1898. There is not space available to discuss all the influences which have affected the course of the foreign trade of both countries; but it may be said that the investment of capital abroad has been a dominant influence in each case. Broadly speaking, it may be said that between 1889 and 1908 the foreign trade of Germany has increased twice as rapidly as that of the United Kingdom. In 1890 Germany's share of the world's trade was 11·1 per cent.; in 1907 it was 12·6 per cent. In 1890 Great Britain's share of the world's trade was 20·8 per cent., but in 1907 it amounted only to 17·6 per cent.

It is instructive to note that Germany's trade balance is, like that of the United Kingdom, a 'passive' one, that is to say, the value of the imports greatly exceeds the value of the exports; and Germany now takes rank as the second creditor nation.

Of her imports, nearly one-half consists of raw materials, and food supplies make up a quarter of the remainder; two-thirds of her exports are manufactured goods. Since 1890 Germany has nearly doubled her exports of manufactures to the British Empire. During the same period her exports of manufactures to European treaty States have increased by approximately 150 per cent.; to other European countries 100 per cent., and to the United States

50 per cent. The principal countries with whom Germany trades are the United Kingdom, the United States, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Holland, and the Balkan States. The important position occupied by the British Empire in the foreign trade of Germany may be gathered from the fact that in 1907 the total value of German imports from the United Kingdom and all British possessions was 88,800,000*l.*, or 20·5 per cent. of her total imports; while the value of the German exports to the United Kingdom and all British possessions was 65,202,000*l.*, or 19·5 per cent. of her total exports.

The expansion of Germany's foreign trade reflects the growth of her productive capacity. In 1871 the output of coal was 29,400,000 tons, and in 1908 it was 148,620,000 tons, to which total one syndicate—the Rhenish Westphalian Coal Syndicate—contributed 81,920,000 tons. The amount of pig-iron produced in 1871 was 1,421,000 tons, and in 1908 the output had increased to 11,813,511 tons. The value of the entire mineral production in 1886 was about 23,000,000*l.*, in 1907 it was valued at 92,500,000*l.* There is good reason to believe that Germany's exports represent a steadily decreasing proportion of her total production of commodities; and statistics relating to certain industries, compiled by reliable authorities, show that the German people are able to consume a larger proportion than formerly of the commodities which they create by their labour. For example, the consumption of coal per head in 1898 was 1618 kilos, in 1909 it was 2199 kilos.

The exports of German iron have risen from 1,548,000 tons in 1900 to 3,732,000 tons in 1908. The remarkable growth of Germany's exports of iron and steel is noteworthy because the ore is, generally speaking, far removed from the coal, and the manufacturing plants are at a considerable distance from the seaboard. The success which has attended German manufacturers is not due to the fact that they can produce more cheaply than the United Kingdom, for example, but may be attributed in a large measure to the perfection of their organisation. German industry is largely dominated by the syndicates or cartells. There are powerful syndicates controlling the chemical and electrical industries, coal and iron, steel rails and girders, wire and nails, plates and sheets, etc. Generally speaking, it is usual for the syndi-

ates to control the products of the works, and not the works themselves. The usual procedure adopted is for the expert officials to record the mechanical equipment and productive capacity of the various works; orders are received and prices fixed by the syndicate, and the work is apportioned amongst the different manufacturing concerns. Every effort is made to avoid waste and overlapping, and the economies effected are stated to be very great. It is somewhat remarkable that a Government so disposed as that of Germany to regulate the commercial life of its people should have allowed the industries of the country to pass under the control of a few syndicates; but it is not altogether inconceivable that the ultimate purpose of the State Governments is to take over themselves certain of the industries controlled by these syndicates.

Concurrently with the growth of Germany's foreign trade there has been a great increase in the tonnage of her merchant shipping. In 1870 the German Empire owned 982,355 tons of merchant shipping; in 1890 the tonnage amounted to 1,941,645; so that during the twenty years it had practically doubled. During the past decade this rate of progress has been maintained, and the tonnage owned by the end of 1908 was 2,790,435. In 1875 Germany controlled 5·2 per cent. of the merchant shipping of the world; in 1907 her proportion of the total had increased to 10·6 per cent., and it is worthy of note that, great as has been the expansion of her mercantile marine, she does not yet own as large a percentage of the world's shipping as the share which she enjoys of the world's trade, namely, 12·6 per cent.

In 1870 the tonnage of the British merchant navy was 5,690,789, and by the end of 1890 the total was increased to 9,304,108 tons. At the end of 1908 it was further augmented to 11,168,574 tons. Although the rate of progress of British merchant shipping since 1870 has not been so rapid as that of the German Empire, it can hardly be regarded as unsatisfactory. Moreover, although Great Britain's share of the world's trade is 17·6 per cent. her merchant navy forms 48·5 per cent. of the total shipping afloat; and there is ground for the belief that in efficiency and economy of working the British mercantile fleet is still superior to that of the rest of the world. It is difficult, however, to avoid the conclusion that here also Great

Britain is destined ultimately to experience a further decline in her predominant position. In 1897 her share of the world's tonnage was 54·3 per cent., and in 1907 this ratio had declined to 48·4 per cent. Within the same period Germany's share of the world's shipping increased from 7·9 per cent. to 10·6 per cent., and every other country, with the exception of Norway and Spain, improved its position during the decade.

German shipbuilding has also shown an appreciable expansion. Formerly she used to depend to a large extent upon British shipbuilders for her merchant shipping; now she not only builds the greater part of her own merchant navy, but she constructs largely for foreigners. The tonnage launched in the United Kingdom during 1901 was 1,524,729, and in 1908, which was a year of marked depression, the output declined to 929,669 tons. The output of the German yards in 1901 was 217,593 tons, but the depression of 1908 did not appear to affect the German shipbuilders so acutely because the tonnage launched during that year was 207,777.

Germany has made the fullest use of her natural waterways. In 1903 she possessed rivers, canals, and other natural waterways with an aggregate length of 8800 miles, of which over 5000 miles were main streams; and the number of vessels engaged in inland navigation was 25,000, with an aggregate tonnage of 4,900,000. The various State Governments, particularly that of Prussia, have made every effort to assist inland traffic by the construction of new waterways and the improvement of old ones. Up to the end of 1906 the Prussian Government had expended upon the improved carrying capacity of natural waterways the sum of 13,181,000*l.*, and a similar sum for the construction of canals. The estimated expenditure on new works of a similar nature is 16,700,000*l.* The waterways are chiefly used for the carriage of goods in bulk. A competition between the railways and the canals for the carriage of goods in Germany does not exist. It is admitted that it is to the advantage of the railways that certain classes of heavy traffic should be carried by water, as otherwise the railway system would be incapable of dealing with the mass of traffic. From the friendly competition which exists the industries of the Empire have to some extent

benefited because a certain proportion has to be observed between the charges for carriage by rail and those by water.

The economic development of Germany has outpaced her accumulation of capital. Credit is more costly in Berlin than in almost any of the other great financial centres of Europe, and consequently Germany has had to depend upon other countries—principally England and France—for a large part of the capital required to finance her trade. Vast amounts of British and French capital have accordingly been attracted to Germany by the high rates of interest offered, and there is good reason to believe that a substantial proportion at least of such capital is being used to finance the foreign trade of Germany in competition with that of the two great lending countries.

The dearth of money which has led to this dependence upon the foreigner is largely due to the fact that modern banking methods are still undeveloped in Germany. Until the passing of the Cheque Law of 1907 German cheques had no legal status, but a serious endeavour is now being made to facilitate their general use. The great demand for capital which exists in Germany accounts to some extent for the comparatively low level of credit which the Imperial and State loans enjoy. The security offered by these issues is of the highest class, and yet they can only be placed on the market to yield 4 per cent. as compared with 3 per cent. in the case of British consols, and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in the case of French 3 per cent. rentes. The frequency with which the Imperial Government and the Prussian Government are compelled to make application to the Berlin money market for loans is a contributory cause to the comparatively low level of German credit. It is a somewhat surprising circumstance that, despite the scarcity of capital at home, Germany has been able to invest vast sums abroad; and a recent estimate, which is generally accepted, places the total value of German investments abroad at about 1,500,000,000*l.*, a sum equivalent to nearly one-half of the estimated value of the foreign and colonial investments of this country. It has to be noted, however, that Germany's foreign trade has been largely built up by the investment of capital abroad.

There is a fundamental difference between the methods of banking business of this country and Germany. The German banks are far more speculative than ours, and they seek business which English banks carefully avoid. For many years the Imperial Diet has pursued a policy hostile to the Stock Exchange, and the development of the Berlin and Frankfort bourses has been arrested. The great German banks have to some extent assumed the functions of the Stock Exchange, while foreign stockbrokers, mostly London stockbrokers, have been able to open up valuable connexions with the German public. In 1907 the Government became alarmed at the comparative dearth of credit in Germany, and a Governmental enquiry into banking was decreed; but the reforms which have resulted are hardly likely to alter the general character of the German banking system.

A great amount of attention has of late been devoted to a comparison of the savings banks deposits of this country and of Germany, but any deductions as to national wealth and progress based on such data are absolutely misleading, and in order to arrive at a true comparison it is necessary to compare the deposits of all the banks of both countries. The so-called savings banks of Germany are really State or municipal banks working largely in competition with the mercantile banks of that country, and to this fact the scarcity of loanable capital in Germany is probably to some extent due. Practically no limit is placed upon the amounts which may be deposited with these savings banks by individual depositors, whereas in this country the limit of 200*l.* cannot be exceeded. The classes of depositors, such as shopkeepers, the small employers, and the *bourgeois*, who are mainly responsible for the huge deposits in the savings banks of Germany, in this country use the joint-stock banks. At the end of 1906 the total deposits of the German savings banks amounted to 670,560,000*l.*, and if to this total be added the deposits of the mercantile banks, 350,000,000*l.*, we arrive at the total of 1,020,560,000*l.* for all the banks of Germany. The deposits of the joint-stock and other banks of the United Kingdom at the end of 1906 amounted to nearly 839,000,000*l.*, and adding the total deposits in the savings banks, 209,000,000*l.*, it will be seen that the deposits of all the banks of the United Kingdom exceeded those of

Germany by about 28,000,000*l.* Moreover, it may be pointed out that this total is exclusive of the huge amount of British capital deposited with the colonial and foreign banks having offices in London. Attention may also be directed to the fact that the deposits of the British banks do not include the funds of the Friendly Societies or workmen's clubs.

The railways have played an important part in the economic development of the German Empire. The railway system of Germany is by far the most important of continental Europe, and the total length in operation at the end of 1907 was 58,040 kilometres, the next largest being that of Russia with nearly 58,000 kilometres. Over forty years ago Bismarck determined upon the nationalisation of the railways, and at the present time 95 per cent. of the railways are in the hands of the States. Bismarck's principal objects were to consolidate the Empire; to strengthen its military position by facilitating the construction of strategical lines and placing the control of the railways in the hands of the State; to provide an important source of revenue which should be outside parliamentary control; and, finally, to facilitate the economic development of the Empire. The jealousy with which the smaller States regard the predominant position of Prussia has hitherto prevented the adoption of a uniform system of State railways for the whole Empire; and there are at the present time six State systems in operation in addition to the Imperial (Alsace-Lorraine) railways. For the year 1907 the gross earnings of all the German railways amounted to 137,250,000*l.*, the working expenses to 94,700,000*l.*, and the net earnings to 42,550,000*l.*, equivalent to 5·60 per cent. on the capital outlay. The total mileage at the end of 1907 was 35,120 and the capital expenditure 781,750,000*l.*

The Prussian State railways are more important than all the other State systems combined, and the net earnings of these railways amounted to more than three-fourths of the total net profits for 1907 above referred to. The expansion of the earnings of the Prussian State railways has been on a remarkable scale. In 1882 the gross receipts amounted to 25,136,000*l.* and the net earnings to 11,330,000*l.*, equivalent to 5·22 per cent. on the total capital of 218,900,000*l.* at that time outstanding. The gross



earnings for 1906 were 93,393,000*ℓ*. and the net earnings 34,900,000*ℓ*., equivalent to 7·48 per cent. on the total capital of 475,000,000*ℓ*. From these figures it will be observed that since 1882 the gross receipts have increased by 270 per cent. and the net earnings by 200 per cent., while the capital expenditure has only grown to the extent of 117 per cent. The important part which the earnings from the railways play in the State finances may be gathered from the fact that out of the earnings of the Prussian State railways for the year 1907 the sum of approximately 30,000,000*ℓ*. was available for the general purposes of the State, this amount being equal to more than twice the sum yielded by the income and property tax in that year, and that since 1882 the total surplus earned by these railways is about 280,000,000*ℓ*., the bulk of which has been applied to the general purposes of State. The possession of the railways by the State has enabled the Prussian and other governments to help industries where assistance is deemed to be specially needed by the granting of exceptionally cheap rates of carriage; and there can be no doubt that a great part of Germany's success in foreign markets is due to the generous spirit in which the freight charges on German manufactures to foreign frontiers are framed; and it is instructive to note that in 1906 64 per cent. of the total goods traffic was conveyed at exceptional rates.

In order to understand the present position of the national finances of Germany it will be desirable to consider as briefly as possible the Constitution of the Empire. Germany is a confederation of twenty-six separate States, each of which is entitled to representation on the Bundesrath or Federal Council, which largely controls the policy of the Empire and is a much more important body than the Imperial Diet or Reichstag. The latter body consists of 397 deputies, who are elected by manhood suffrage; but the Bundesrath is appointed by the Governments of the Federal States. Its meetings are private, and, broadly speaking, it may be said that it fulfils, *inter alia*, duties which, in this country, are undertaken by the Cabinet. All Bills are brought before the Reichstag in the name of the Emperor, after acceptance by the Bundesrath, and the Reichstag cannot meet except when the Bundesrath is in session. Every law requires

the assent of the Bundesrath as well as the Reichstag, and almost all laws are prepared and discussed by it before they are introduced into the Reichstag, much in the same manner as our Cabinet discuss Bills before they are introduced into the House of Commons. There are fifty-eight members of the Federal Council, of whom Prussia is entitled to nominate twenty. The predominant position of Prussia is further emphasised by the fact that the Constitution provides that the Imperial Chancellor must be the head of the Prussian Government for the time being.

Under the Constitution of the Empire the States named above form 'a permanent union for the protection of the realm and the care of the welfare of the German people.' The different States have surrendered their sovereign rights so far as it is necessary to give effect to the aims of the union, and the Constitution determines certain matters to be subjects of Imperial concern. Among the matters which come within the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government are those relating to the army and navy, posts and telegraphs, inland navigation, the Customs of the Empire, currency and banking, foreign trade, the mercantile marine, and colonisation.

On the foundation of the Empire it was agreed that the Imperial authorities should receive the proceeds of most of the indirect taxation of the Empire, and the revenue derived from posts and telegraphs and from the Imperial railways, i.e., the Alsace-Lorraine railways. But with the obvious intention of maintaining the federal character of the Constitution, and ensuring a close connexion between the common needs of the Empire and the control over them to be exercised by the Federal States, it was decided that one of the principal sources of Imperial revenue should consist of direct payments from the Federal Governments, known as 'matricular contributions.' It was further arranged that these contributions should be assessed in proportion to population, and that they should be refunded either wholly or partly by assignments from Imperial funds.

The charge upon the separate States increased rapidly between 1871 and 1879, and in the latter year an opportunity seemed to occur of placing the finances of the Empire on an independent footing and at the same time

of effecting a separation between Imperial and State finance. The policy of Protection had been adopted by Bismarck, and it was anticipated that the increased customs duties would render the Empire financially independent. The Reichstag, however, was alarmed at the prospect, and it was believed that, by the loss of the right of granting annually the matricular contributions, the privileges of that body would be curtailed. It was also feared that the separate States might find themselves dissociated from an important share in Imperial administration. On the motion, therefore, of Baron von Franckenstein, the representative of a Bavarian constituency, it was decided that the Imperial Treasury should not be allowed to retain more than 6,000,000*l.* from the customs receipts, the balance being handed over to the separate States as assignments. The Empire was again placed in the position of not being able to command a sufficient revenue of its own, and of being forced to depend upon the grants from the separate States. For about thirteen years this arrangement worked satisfactorily, and until the year 1892 the assignments were considerably in excess of the matricular contributions; but from 1899 the assignments failed to cover the matricular contributions by steadily increasing amounts. The Federal States found themselves called upon at the end of the year to pay considerable sums, which could only be roughly estimated beforehand, while their receipts from the assignments were also an uncertain amount. In addition to the difficulties thus created, the poorer States complained that an undue burden was being thrown upon them by an increasing proportion of Imperial taxation because the contributions uncovered by assignments were payable according to the population instead of upon the basis of relative wealth.

In 1906 Baron von Stengel made a strong effort to place the Imperial finances on a sound basis. The Government asked for additional revenue to the extent of 12,000,000*l.* a year; but the Reichstag refused to grant more than 8,800,000*l.*, deciding that the difference was to be made up by an anticipated increase from the customs, and by leaving the separate States under the obligation of providing matricular contributions, uncovered by assignments, to the extent of 1,174,800*l.* It soon became evident

that these arrangements would prove insufficient. The estimates laid before the Reichstag in 1907 showed a deficit of over 6,000,000*l*. Baron von Stengel declared that fresh sources of revenue must be made available, but showed an uncompromising hostility to direct Imperial taxes. Direct taxation is the principal source of income of the separate States. It is largely imposed in the form of income tax, while in many places (including Berlin) income tax is also levied for municipal purposes. Baron von Stengel was unable to obtain a sufficient majority in support of his views, and he resigned in February 1908, when he was succeeded by Herr Sydow.

In November 1908 the situation described by Herr Sydow was as follows. The excess of expenditure over revenue had in the course of the preceding nine years led to the accumulation of debt to the extent of nearly 100,000,000*l*. The burden of this debt exercised a most unfavourable influence upon the market for Imperial loans, while the varying amounts of the matricular contributions were a source of chronic disorder to the finances of the separate States. Reform was urgently necessary to prevent increase of debt, to establish a proper balance between revenue and expenditure, and to regulate the financial relations of the States and the Empire. For this purpose an additional income of 25,000,000*l*. was required. As the federated States rejected the idea of an Imperial income or property tax on the ground that these sources of revenue were the foundation of their own finances and must not be touched, it was proposed to raise the money from spirits, tobacco, beer, wine, death duties, gas and electricity, and advertisements; the balance was to come from matricular contributions. The reform, in its amended shape, was finally passed in July 1909, and comprised the following taxes, estimated roughly to bring in 23,750,000*l*.

|                         | £         |  | £           |
|-------------------------|-----------|--|-------------|
| Tea and coffee . . . .  | 1,850,000 | Land transfer . . . .                          | 2,000,000   |
| Beer . . . . .          | 5,000,000 | Stamps on bills of ex-<br>change and cheques } | 975,000     |
| Tobacco . . . . .       | 2,150,000 | Stamps on securities .                         | 1,125,000   |
| Spirits . . . . .       | 4,000,000 | Coupon tax . . . . .                           | 1,375,000   |
| Sparkling wine . . . .  | 250,000   | Passenger tickets . .                          | 1,000,000   |
| Matches . . . . .       | 1,250,000 |  |             |
| Lighting appliances . . | 1,000,000 |  |             |
| Sugar . . . . .         | 1,750,000 |  |             |
|                         |           |  | £23,725,000 |

There was practical unanimity among all parties in the Imperial Diet that the Imperial finances should be put upon a sounder permanent basis, but the Reichstag was hampered because Imperial finance is as much a constitutional as a social question. Germany has suffered from the disadvantages which attach to all forms of federal government so far as relates to the apportionment of the cost of conducting the Imperial government. Difficulties of a similar nature have arisen in Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, and, in our own case, with regard to Ireland's share of the Imperial expenditure. The German Federal States did not wish the Imperial Government to trench upon the direct taxation, from which their principal revenues are derived, and the agrarian interest was most strongly opposed to any form of inheritance tax. On the other hand, the industrial population, while, as a whole, admitting the necessity of increased taxation, protested in each group that their manufactures could not bear an additional burden. In the main it will be observed that the agrarian interest has prevailed, and that the bulk of the new taxes will fall on the industrial classes. It is not inconceivable that the financial reform of 1909 may have the effect of impairing the good understanding which has hitherto existed between the great protected interests of Germany; and considerable significance may be attached to the fact that, for the first time, the non-agrarian part of the community has endeavoured to make the others bear their share of the additional burden. The industrial interest has for the time being failed; but with the growing transition of Germany from an agricultural to a manufacturing country it appears to be almost inevitable that the influence of the agrarians in shaping the fiscal policy of the Empire will in future be a diminishing one.

There is also reason to believe that economic causes may tend to bring about an important change in the Constitution of the Empire, that is, in the direction of strengthening the Imperial as against the federal principle. For the time being the federal principle has demonstrated its power; but considerable importance may be attached to the fact that, under the pressure of economic necessity, the separate States are gradually surrendering their sovereign rights in the matter of

direct taxation. A similar tendency is observable with regard to the German railways. The Prussian system has already absorbed the Hessian railways, and the recent agreement between the Prussian State railways and the State railways of Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Alsace-Lorraine, for the common use of goods wagons, points most emphatically to the ultimate merging of all these railways under one administration, namely, that of Prussia.

Although the complicated relations which exist between the Imperial finances and those of the separate Federal States have had the effect of bringing the finances of the Empire into a condition of great confusion, it would be a profound mistake to imagine that the general financial condition of Germany is unsound. On the contrary, there is ground for the belief that, having regard to her national wealth, Germany is one of the most lightly taxed of all the great Powers. In 1906 the Imperial debt amounted to 173,445,900*l.* and the debts of the various Federal States to 609,500,000*l.*, the aggregate of both Imperial and State debts being 782,945,900*l.*, equivalent to 12*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* per head of the population. The national debt of the United Kingdom at March 31, 1908, was 759,826,051*l.*, equivalent to 17*l.* 12*s.* per head of the population; and the national debt of France at the end of 1906 was 1,231,973,612*l.*, equivalent to 33*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* per head of the population. This comparison, it will be observed, is very much in favour of Germany. But when the national debts are analysed, it will be found that the real position of Germany is very much more favourable than the above figures show, because practically the whole of the debts of the Federal States are more than covered by the value of the railways and other revenue producing undertakings which they possess; indeed the railways alone have been valued at over 900,000,000*l.* It is true that the Imperial debt of Germany has been increasing at a rapid rate, but it is still comparatively small. In the earlier years of the Empire a good deal of extraordinary expenditure was met by payments from the French war indemnity of 213,000,000*l.*; and the Imperial debt first dates from the year 1877, when it amounted to only 3,534,200*l.*; including the new loan recently issued, it now amounts to 244,000,000*l.* In some quarters there is a disposition

to hold the view that the great prosperity of Germany is largely due to the huge indemnity received from France in 1871. The money received from France certainly provided the new Empire with working capital, so to speak; but, after meeting the cost of the war, providing fully for the invalidity funds, and defraying the expenditure incurred in strengthening practically all her frontiers, it may be questioned whether the indemnity added materially to the wealth of Germany. It probably facilitated the introduction of her gold standard, and it is possible that in other indirect ways it has helped her development; but, on the other hand, there is some ground for the contention that the indemnity was largely responsible for the disorganisation of the national finances. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that the war indemnity contributed but little to the greatness of modern Germany. It was inevitable that a great and populous country such as Germany, situated in the very heart of Europe, with frontiers marching with those of nearly all the principal commercial Powers of the Continent, with a fertile soil highly adapted for agricultural pursuits, with enormous mineral wealth, with rich forests and many fine natural waterways, and, above all, with a highly educated and well disciplined population, should take a leading place amongst the world Powers.

The national income and expenditure cannot be said to be disproportionate to the greatness of Germany. The total ordinary revenue for the four years 1907 to 1910, according to the estimates, is shown hereunder, together with the principal sources from which it is derived:

|   | 1907.       | 1908.       | 1909.       | 1910.       |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|   | £           | £           | £           | £           |
| Total revenue as shown in the estimates . . . . . | 114,502,722 | 123,618,178 | 128,017,460 | 130,228,118 |
| Posts and telegraphs . . . . .                    | 29,865,773  | 31,529,466  | 32,924,503  | 33,931,782  |
| Customs . . . . .                                 | 29,386,442  | 32,646,794  | 30,818,698  | 30,930,004  |
| Excise . . . . .                                  | 19,178,208  | 19,752,642  | 19,956,829  | 28,262,660  |
| Matricular contributions . . . . .                | 14,243,672  | 17,241,626  | 20,130,203  | 11,185,119  |
| Stamp duties . . . . .                            | 7,737,820   | 7,047,430   | 6,581,449   | 9,629,246   |
| Railways . . . . .                                | 5,769,701   | 6,144,493   | 6,034,802   | 5,987,224   |



The financial reforms effected last year have had a marked effect on the estimates for 1910; and attention may be directed to the huge increase in the estimated yield from excise and stamp duties, and to the almost equally large decrease in the amount to be received from matricular contributions. The railways, it will be observed, play a very small part in the Imperial finances. The extraordinary revenue for the four years named was as follows: 1907, 12,604,063*l.*; 1908, 12,998,104*l.*; 1909, 11,483,950*l.*; and 1910, 9,335,987*l.* Loans represented the principal source from which the extraordinary revenue was derived, and it is instructive to note that, notwithstanding the reforms of last year, the 1910 estimates include a provision of 7,423,934*l.* to be raised from this source.

The total ordinary expenditure for the four years, together with the principal items included in the total, are shown in the following table:

|   | 1907.       | 1908.       | 1909.       | 1910.       |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|   | £           | £           | £           | £           |
| Total expenditure as shown in the estimates . . . . . | 114,502,722 | 123,618,178 | 128,017,460 | 130,228,118 |
| Army . . . . .  | 36,644,914  | 39,048,847  | 37,708,228  | 38,421,894  |
| Posts and telegraphs . . . . .                        | 26,894,593  | 27,496,318  | 28,631,621  | 31,376,797  |
| Navy . . . . .  | 10,837,899  | 12,382,927  | 14,197,828  | 16,143,825  |
| Treasury . . . . .                                    | 13,716,556  | 15,169,023  | 16,071,531  | 12,326,700  |
| Debt . . . . .  | 6,727,680   | 7,854,725   | 8,392,208   | 10,839,865  |
| General pension fund . . . . .                        | 5,073,545   | 5,402,964   | 5,634,346   | 5,793,526   |
| Imperial railways . . . . .                           | 4,718,386   | 4,991,722   | 4,976,461   | 5,205,398   |

It will be observed that the ordinary expenditure on the navy has increased by about 49 per cent. since 1907, while the army expenditure has also been substantially increased during the same period. The growth of the debt charge is also noteworthy, and an increase of 61 per cent. in four years under this head is certainly somewhat alarming. The charge for 1910, however, includes provision for redemption of debt to the extent of 1,561,876*l.*, no such provision having been made in the estimates of 1907. It is interesting to note that, although the national debt of the United Kingdom is about four times as great as the Imperial debt of

Germany, the interest charges on the former are only 20,543,000*l.*, or less than double the amount of the interest charges on the German debt; this is mainly due to the fact that the credit of the British Government is very much higher than that of the German Government. The sinking fund charges of 7,455,126*l.*, however, bring up the amount required for the services of the national debt of the United Kingdom to a much higher total, namely, 28,000,000*l.*

The extraordinary expenditure for the four years was estimated as follows :

|                       | 1907.      | 1908.      | 1909.      | 1910.     |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
|                       | £          | £          | £          | £         |
| Total . . .           | 12,604,063 | 12,998,104 | 11,483,950 | 9,335,987 |
| Army . . .            | 2,525,866  | 2,771,665  | 2,041,908  | 1,101,277 |
| Navy. . .             | 2,808,138  | 4,216,111  | 5,373,790  | 5,518,182 |
| Posts and telegraphs. | 2,194,567  | 2,963,858  | 2,202,643  | 1,223,690 |
| Imperial railways .   | 1,842,315  | 966,055    | 1,004,131  | 367,043   |

The extraordinary expenditure on the army has been devoted almost exclusively to the construction of strategic railways. The large sum included in the extraordinary expenditure for naval purposes deserves consideration. Before 1900 the cost of keeping up the fleet at its existing strength was met out of revenue by making a charge against the ordinary revenues, equal at first to 2½ per cent., and subsequently to 5 per cent., of the cost of construction. Ships were to be replaced on the expiry of twenty-five years' service. Any further expenditure above this rate (which was to be looked upon as an increase in the naval strength of the Empire) was to be met by a loan in the form of a contribution from the extraordinary accounts. In 1900 it was decided that this percentage should be raised to 6 per cent. The estimated expenditure on construction for 1910 is 7,557,023*l.* The money value of the fleet is estimated at 50,410,000*l.*; 6 per cent. of this sum would be 3,024,600*l.*, leaving a balance of 4,532,423*l.* to be met from loan.

The total expenditure on the army and navy for the four years 1907 to 1910 is shown hereunder :

|                        | 1907.      | 1908.      | 1909.      | 1910.      |
|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                        | £          | £          | £          | £          |
| Army . . . .           | 30,170,780 | 41,820,472 | 39,750,136 | 39,523,171 |
| Navy. . . . .          | 13,646,037 | 16,599,038 | 19,571,618 | 21,662,007 |
| Total of both services | 52,816,817 | 58,419,510 | 59,321,754 | 61,185,178 |

The comparative figures for the United Kingdom during the same years are as follows :—

| Years ending March 31  | 1907.      | 1908.      | 1909.      | 1910.      |
|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                        | £          | £          | £          | £          |
| Army . . . . .         | 27,765,000 | 27,115,000 | 26,840,000 | 27,435,000 |
| Navy. . . . .          | 31,434,000 | 31,141,000 | 32,188,000 | 35,143,000 |
| Total of both services | 59,199,000 | 58,256,000 | 59,028,000 | 62,578,000 |

The cost per head for the army and navy, for the year to March 31, 1908, was, for Germany, 17s. 3d.; the United Kingdom, 1l. 6s. 2d.; and France, 1l. 0s. 10d.; so that here again Germany holds a very favourable position. The fact must be borne in mind that, so far at least as her army is concerned, Germany obtains more value for her money than any other Power. With an annual military expenditure of about 39,700,000l., she has 620,000 trained men immediately available in peace time, and fifteen days after the outbreak of war she would have nearly 3,750,000 men available. The United Kingdom, with an army expenditure of 27,400,000l., has only 120,000 trained men immediately available in peace time, exclusive of the Indian army and the colonial forces, and fifteen days after the outbreak of war she could only command 330,000 men, apart, of course, from the Territorial force, which numbers about 260,000 men. Making every allowance for the advantages which Germany derives from conscription in this matter, it is difficult to believe that the military expenditure of this country is as effective as that of Germany. The question therefore arises whether Germany is able to obtain better value for her money in the matter of naval expenditure also, and here again it may be feared that the answer must be in the affirmative. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that the accounts of the Imperial Government and

the Federal States are so involved that if it were desired to conceal the total expenditure upon the navy it would not be a difficult matter to do so.

A general survey of the course of Imperial finance during the past decade points to the conclusion that it would be unwise to assume that the financial reforms of 1909 will place the national finances on a permanently sound basis. The old vicious system of mixing up the finances of the Imperial Government with those of the Federal States has been somewhat simplified, but nothing short of a fundamental reconstruction of the Constitution will enable the Empire to remove the main source of confusion, namely, the matricular contributions. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that, as in 1906, the yield of the new taxes has been greatly overestimated; while, on the other hand, in view of the naval programme, the increased pay of civil servants, the guarantees for colonial railways, and the increased charges for pensions, there is equally good reason to anticipate that the expenditure will largely exceed the estimates.

Generally speaking, however, it may be said that there is little ground for the assumption that Germany is overtaxed, at least so far as the Imperial and State revenue systems are concerned. An inspection of the bases on which the financial systems of the Federal States are constructed reveals the fact that the national finances of Germany are different from those of all other countries owing to the large proportion of income derived from State-controlled industries. While in Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, the United States, and other countries, about one-tenth of the national revenues are derived from State industries, such as the posts and telegraphs, etc., 53 per cent. of the national revenues are obtained in Germany from these sources. The State railway system, though unimportant in the Imperial finances, is the main source of the strength of Prussian finance, and, as has been already stated, the net earnings of these railways for 1907, after meeting interest charges, amounted to a sum which was twice as large as the yield of income and property tax during that year. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that this policy has withdrawn from the area of private enterprise one of the most lucrative fields for the invest-

ment of capital. It has, moreover, the further disadvantage that it has seriously embarrassed the national finances instead of strengthening them, because the frequent appeals to the money market for loans for railway purposes have depreciated the credit of Prussia generally. Despite the magnificent asset which she possesses in the shape of her State railways, Prussia can only borrow money on a 4 per cent. basis. The income of other countries is mainly derived from taxes, among which customs and excise play the chief part. In Germany taxes only bring in about 17 per cent. of the State requirements, and, reckoned per head of the population, they were, before the passing of the reforms of 1909, only about half as high, for example, as those of Great Britain and France. The Federal States of Germany also derive a large income from other State-controlled industries, such as canals, forests, lands, and mines.

International statistical comparisons are always unsatisfactory owing to the practical difficulties in the way of obtaining perfectly parallel conditions. But in 1908 Dr Friedrich Zahn, in '*Die Finanzen der Grossmächte*,' made an attempt to estimate the amounts raised by certain of the great Powers, by means of direct and indirect taxation, which deserves careful consideration. The following are some of the results obtained from his investigations. Income and capital tax: Germany, 6s. 4d. per head; United Kingdom, 15s. 2d. per head; Italy, 7s. 5d. per head; France, 2s. per head. Trade taxes: Germany, 4d. per head; United Kingdom, nil; France, 2s. 10d. per head; Russia, 1s. 2d. per head. Site and land taxes: Germany, 8d. per head; United Kingdom, 4d. per head; France, 2s. 2d. per head. Stamp duties: Germany, 2s. 7d. per head; United Kingdom, 3s. 1d. per head; France, 4s. per head. Succession duties: Germany, 6d. per head; United Kingdom, 9s. 5d. per head; France, 5s. 5d. per head. Customs: Germany, 10s. 4d. per head; United Kingdom, 17s. 1d. per head; France, 8s. 5d. per head; Russia, 3s. 9d. per head. Spirits: Germany, 2s. 8d. per head; United Kingdom, 9s. 3d. per head; France, 6s. 10d. per head. Beer: Germany, 1s. 9d. per head; United Kingdom, 6s. 7d. per head; United States, 7s. 10d. per head. Salt: Germany, 10d. per head; United King-

dom, nil; Italy, 1s. 10d. per head. Sugar: Germany, 2s. 3d. per head; France, 3s. per head; Russia, 1s. 7d. per head; United Kingdom, 2s. 7d. per head. These estimates, it may be pointed out, relate to the year 1906, and of course the new taxes imposed last year will in many instances make Germany's comparative position less favourable. On the whole, it may be admitted that the Imperial and State taxes of Germany are lighter per head of population than in this country. On the other hand, there is good reason to believe that, although the taxation of this country is greater, it does not constitute such a heavy burden, owing to our greater national wealth.

In the matter of local taxation the position of Germany is not so favourable. The States have retained absolute independence with regard to the regulation of all questions of local administration. There is no uniform system of local government in Germany; in each State, and even in different parts of the same State, different systems are in force. In Prussia the system of government adopted is based on the principle of the territorial distribution of administrative functions. State control of local government is not effected, as in England, through a central department of a Minister of State, it is effected mainly through the State authorities acting in the government divisions. A further fundamental difference may be noted between the local government systems of England and Germany, and that is, that in the latter State the legislature interferes scarcely if at all in the control of local government. Local government in Prussia does not rest upon a popular basis; the franchise system in force is decidedly anti-democratic. In principle the suffrage lays great stress upon the amount of taxes paid; it gives a higher value to the vote of the citizen who makes the larger contribution in aid of the expenditure of the corporate body of which he is a member. The principle of manhood suffrage has never found favour with the ruling classes of Prussia. From the earliest times representation has been regarded as the right of property, not of men; and the amendments to the Prussian franchise which are at present under discussion will, if passed, merely effect a few detailed alterations in a franchise avowedly illiberal. In intro-

ducing the Bill the Chancellor said it was designed to preserve the 'conservative organism' of Prussia. People, he said, were interested in electoral reform in Prussia because they wanted the destinies of the Empire to be determined by a democratised Federal Council, and to such an outcome the Government were opposed.

Local authorities in Germany possess, as compared with those in England, very wide powers of taxation. In addition to the power of levying direct taxation in respect of the ownership of lands and buildings, the pursuit of trade, and upon incomes, they are generally empowered to meet part of their financial necessities by indirect taxation of certain kinds. Very considerable sums are raised in German towns from such sources as taxes on the change in ownership of land, on malt and beer, dogs, amusements, and, in some towns, on articles of general consumption. The powers of local authorities to raise money by taxes on corn, vegetables, meal, pastry, cattle, flesh, etc., were, however, annulled from April 1, 1910, and this will necessitate the reorganisation of the local finances.

In 1905 the average amount of local taxation raised per head of the estimated population in 54 of the principal cities of Germany was 1*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* For a similar number of representative English towns the average amount raised per head was 1*l.* 7*s.* It is important to note, however, that the English figures did not include sums raised to meet expenditure in connexion with the relief of the poor. Similarly calculated, the average amount of debt outstanding per head of the population was 10*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for the German towns and 19*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* for the English towns. On the whole, therefore, balancing these figures, it may be said that, with regard to local taxation, Germany does not occupy a much more favourable position than this country.

Further confirmation of the belief in Germany's ability to bear the burden of additional taxation is to some extent afforded by a consideration of the data available with regard to the rise of wages which has taken place during the past twelve or fourteen years. The general increase in wages between 1896 and 1906 has been estimated at between 37 and 38 per cent. On January 20, 1909, the Prussian Minister of Finance stated



that the statistics collected by the Accident Insurance Fund showed that in the year 1893 168,300,000*l.* was paid in wages, and that in 1906 the amount had increased to 388,000,000*l.* The average wage paid in 1893 was 33*l.* 11*s.*, but in 1906 it had advanced to 44*l.* 14*s.*

On the other hand, the cost of living has increased enormously in Germany since 1896. For several decades the policy of the country has been dictated by agrarian considerations; every new tariff has increased the duty rate on corn and agricultural produce; the importation of meat has been rendered either illegal or is subjected to increased duties and heavy dues in the shape of fees for inspection. The consequence of this policy has been a substantial and continued rise in the cost of food stuff, which, in its turn, has been reflected by the increased cost of manufactured articles. The expenditure for rent in a workman's budget is notoriously high. The town of Munich made careful enquiries and found that in 1907 rent absorbed 14·9 per cent. of incomes from 60*l.* to 75*l.* per annum, and 9·4 per cent. of incomes of 100*l.* and upwards. It may be pointed out that the people of Germany is largely dependent upon the potato. It is not only a potato producing and potato consuming country, but large masses of the population are dependent on the potato, as the mass of people in Ireland used to be, and to some extent still are.

A return recently made by the statistical bureau of the town of Munich revealed the fact that the average annual wages earned by skilled workmen were about 64*l.* The expert who was commissioned to examine these returns expressed the opinion that a family with three, and at the utmost four, children could only just manage to live healthily and respectably from the wage of a skilled workman by exercising the greatest economy and thrift. If a similar enquiry were extended to the unskilled working classes a much more hopeless picture would be presented. In the agricultural districts too there is a vast population living on the verge of poverty.

Certain authorities, however, are of opinion that the ample rise in wages has more than kept pace with the increased cost of living; and there can be little doubt that the German workman lives better than he used to do. The standard of living has been raised all round. Food

has improved, clothes have improved, and Germany has become a rich country without the lowest grades of poverty which exist elsewhere. It does not, however, appear that, generally speaking, the German workman lives as well as the British workman. The conclusions arrived at in the statistics published by the Board of Trade with regard to the cost of living in German towns as compared with the cost of living in English towns are very interesting. The general result of the comparison is to show that in German towns the workmen engaged in certain standard trades receive about 17 per cent. less in money wages, in return for a week's work of about 10 per cent. longer duration, than the corresponding English workmen. On the other hand, the cost of fuel, rent, and food (measured by the English standard) is about one-fifth higher. It must be borne in mind, however, that, for reasons already stated, international statistical comparisons are extremely difficult to make and should be accepted with considerable reserve.

The income tax returns afford further evidence of the growth of German prosperity. The principal source of income of the separate States is direct taxation, which is largely imposed in the form of income tax. Each Federal State has its own tariff of income tax; but it will be convenient to take that of the principal State, Prussia, as it gives a very fair representation of the methods in vogue throughout the whole of the Empire. In Prussia incomes of less than 45*l.* per annum are not subject to State income tax. Under the Communal Taxation Law, however, smaller incomes are liable to taxation for communal purposes. The lowest income which is taxed for communal purposes is 15*l.*, and there are many towns where incomes of over 21*l.* are taxed. The general principles governing this tax in Prussia are as follows. The gross taxable income is made up of money and money value, the latter including all payments 'in kind.' Liability to payment of the tax begins with an income exceeding 45*l.*, but the earnings of the members of a household are counted together. Deductions are allowed in respect of premiums paid on sickness, accident, old age, widows' and orphans', and pension funds, and also life insurance premiums up to a maximum of 30*l.* Extra allowances are made for sickness and other misfortunes, and also for

special expenditure on the education of children. Under the Finance Act of 1909 abatement of income tax has also been granted to a certain number of classes in the progressive scale when the person assessed is bound to maintain a certain number of children or dependents.

The following is the tariff of the State income tax which was in force four years ago. A certain number of modifications have been introduced since then, but it may be taken as approximately correct.

TARIFF OF THE PRUSSIAN STATE INCOME TAX.

| Incomes. |    |          |    | Tax. | Incomes. |          |    |           | Tax. |
|----------|----|----------|----|------|----------|----------|----|-----------|------|
| £        | s. | £        | s. | £    | s.       | £        | s. | £         | s.   |
| Over 45  | 0  | up to 52 | 10 | 0    | 6        | Over 450 | 0  | up to 475 | 0    |
| " 52     | 10 | " 60     | 0  | 0    | 9        | " 475    | 0  | " 525     | 0    |
| " 60     | 0  | " 67     | 10 | 0    | 12       | " 525    | 0  | " 575     | 0    |
| " 67     | 10 | " 75     | 0  | 0    | 16       | " 575    | 0  | " 625     | 0    |
| " 75     | 0  | " 82     | 10 | 1    | 1        | " 625    | 0  | " 675     | 0    |
| " 82     | 10 | " 90     | 0  | 1    | 6        | " 675    | 0  | " 725     | 0    |
| " 90     | 0  | " 105    | 0  | 1    | 11       | " 725    | 0  | " 775     | 0    |
| " 105    | 0  | " 120    | 0  | 1    | 16       | " 775    | 0  | " 825     | 0    |
| " 120    | 0  | " 135    | 0  | 2    | 4        | " 825    | 0  | " 875     | 0    |
| " 135    | 0  | " 150    | 0  | 2    | 12       | " 875    | 0  | " 925     | 0    |
| " 150    | 0  | " 165    | 0  | 3    | 0        | " 925    | 0  | " 1,025   | 0    |
| " 165    | 0  | " 180    | 0  | 3    | 10       | " 1,025  | 0  | " 1,075   | 0    |
| " 180    | 0  | " 195    | 0  | 4    | 0        | " 1,075  | 0  | " 1,125   | 0    |
| " 195    | 0  | " 210    | 0  | 4    | 12       | " 1,125  | 0  | " 1,175   | 0    |
| " 210    | 0  | " 225    | 0  | 5    | 4        | " 1,175  | 0  | " 1,225   | 0    |
| " 225    | 0  | " 250    | 0  | 5    | 18       | " 1,225  | 0  | " 1,275   | 0    |
| " 250    | 0  | " 275    | 0  | 6    | 12       | " 1,275  | 0  | " 1,325   | 0    |
| " 275    | 0  | " 300    | 0  | 7    | 6        | " 1,325  | 0  | " 1,375   | 0    |
| " 300    | 0  | " 325    | 0  | 8    | 0        | " 1,375  | 0  | " 1,425   | 0    |
| " 325    | 0  | " 350    | 0  | 8    | 16       | " 1,425  | 0  | " 1,475   | 0    |
| " 350    | 0  | " 375    | 0  | 9    | 12       | " 1,475  | 0  | " 1,525   | 0    |
| " 375    | 0  | " 400    | 0  | 10   | 12       | " 1,525  | 0  | " 1,600   | 0    |
| " 400    | 0  | " 425    | 0  | 11   | 12       | " 5,000  | 0  | " 5,250   | 0    |
| " 425    | 0  | " 450    | 0  | 12   | 12       |          |    |           |      |

The municipal or communal income tax is levied locally as a percentage of the State income tax, the usual addition being 100 per cent. of the State tax. On this basis, therefore, it may be estimated that the average tax paid on an income of 52*l.* is 12*s.*; on an income of 74*l.*, 1*l.* 12*s.*; on an income of 100*l.*, 2*l.* 12*s.*; 149*l.*, 5*l.* 4*s.*; 200*l.*, 9*l.* 4*s.* Incomes of less than 160*l.* are of course exempt from tax in this country, and, under the present rate of 9*d.* in the £ for an earned income, the tax payable by a British subject on an income of 200*l.* would be only 30*s.* In the higher incomes it will be observed that

the Prussian State tax approximates to 3 per cent., and that a tax at the rate of 4 per cent. is not reached until the income amounts to 5000*l.* and upwards. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that in Germany large incomes are more lightly taxed than in this country, while, on the other hand, smaller incomes contribute very much more to the national revenues than they do in this country. In Prussia, as a matter of fact, incomes which would not be liable to income tax in this country contribute 34 per cent. of the total yield of the State income tax.

The income tax returns of Prussia are instructive. In 1892 the amount of income assessed was 498,070,000*l.* In 1908 the total income assessed had increased to 678,344,000*l.*, a growth of 36·2 per cent. in sixteen years. Between 1907 and 1908 alone the number of persons liable to income tax increased by 492,850, equivalent to 9·1 per cent., while the assessed income increased by 58,748,000*l.*, or 9·5 per cent. As far as Prussia is concerned there were in 1905 68 per cent., but in 1908 only 52 per cent. of the population whose incomes did not bring them into the classes paying income tax, that is to say, out of a total population of 38,000,000 as many as 20,000,000 had in 1908 incomes below 45*l.* per annum. The number of persons with incomes between 45*l.* and 150*l.* rose from 27 per cent. in 1905 to 42 per cent. in 1908, that is, 16,000,000 out of the remaining 18,000,000. These figures must, however, be accepted with a certain amount of reserve because, under the Finance Law of 1906, employers were compelled to reveal the wages of their employees if the wages earned were below 150*l.* per annum., and this resulted in a very large addition to the amount assessed under this classification. Out of a total population of 38,000,000 there are 36,000,000, or 94·7 per cent., who still have an income below 150*l.* per annum. Only 2,000,000 of the inhabitants of Prussia have incomes exceeding 150*l.* per annum, and this comparatively small proportion of the population—5·3 per cent.—contributes 66 per cent. of the total yield of the Prussian income tax.

Within the past two years frequent attempts have been made to prove, by a comparison of the income tax returns of the two countries, that Germany is increasing her national income more rapidly than the United Kingdom. But, for reasons given above, an international

comparison of the growth of national income based on such data is almost certain to lead to a statistical illusion, because it is impossible to make provision for all the circumstances which have affected the incidence of the tax in each country.

The total gross amount of income brought under the review of the Inland Revenue department of the United Kingdom in 1908 was 946,578,997*l.*, which compared with 673,711,988*l.* in 1893; the increase during the fifteen years was therefore at the rate of 40 per cent. A rough method of calculating the national income of the United Kingdom is to double the amount of income brought under the review of the Inland Revenue department, and on this basis the national income may be estimated at approximately 2,000,000,000*l.*

In 1895 Schmoller estimated the national income of Germany at 1,250,000,000*l.*; and Steinmann-Bucher, in the pamphlet referred to later, estimated that in 1907 it amounted to 1,750,000,000*l.* The Prussian income tax returns certainly afford conclusive evidence of the great increase of the national income during the past twelve years, but it may be doubted whether the annual average increase has amounted to as much as 42,000,000*l.* per annum.

It is a matter for regret that there are no reliable estimates available as to the amount of the national wealth of Germany. German economists have always admitted the difficulty of estimating national wealth. Neumann states boldly that it is impossible to arrive at any sound estimate, and Schmoller is sceptical about the value of the results obtained up to the present. It will be interesting, however, to consider briefly the estimates available with regard to this matter. In 1894 the national wealth of the Empire was estimated at 11,000,000,000*l.*; and in 1909 Steinmann-Bucher, in his pamphlet '*Deutsches Volksvermögen*,' placed the total at 17,500,000,000*l.* According to these estimates, therefore, the national wealth of Germany during the fifteen years has increased at the rate of 430,000,000*l.* per annum. This is obviously an extravagant estimate, and it exceeds the most sanguine estimates formed by reliable authorities as to the increase of national wealth of the United Kingdom during the past decade. Some prominence has been given to the

pamphlet of Steinmann-Bucher, and it will be desirable, therefore, to examine it in detail. The following are the principal items upon which the total is based :

|  | £                              | £             |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|
| (1) Private property, movable and immovable, 8,100,000,000 to 9,000,000,000                                |                                |               |
| (2) Landed property according to various categories—   |                                |               |
| (a) Landed property in towns, building sites, etc. . . . .   | 2,000,000,000 to 2,500,000,000 |               |
| (b) Rural landed property . . . . .  |                                | 2,500,000,000 |
| (c) Value of private mining property . . . . .   |                                | 250,000,000   |
| (3) Value of capital invested abroad . . . . .   |                                | 1,500,000,000 |
| (4) Value of property in productive and interest-bearing Imperial and State investments—                   |                                |               |
| (a) Railways . . . . .   |                                | 950,000,000   |
| (b) Mining properties and other State industrial establishments, sea and inland harbours, canals . . . . . |                                | 250,000,000   |
| (c) Posts and telegraphs, public buildings, etc. . . . .   |                                | 500,000,000   |
| (5) Merchandise in transit, floating supplies, ships . . . . .   |                                | 200,000,000   |
| (6) Specie . . . . .   |                                | 250,000,000   |
| A total of between 18,600,000,000£. and 17,900,000,000£.   |                                |               |

The above estimate is open to very serious objection. In the first place, the valuation of from 8,100,000,000£. to 9,000,000,000£. for real estate and movables is based upon the fire insurance returns, which is an eminently unsatisfactory method of valuation. It includes business and dwelling houses, buildings, furniture, raw and auxiliary materials, the products of industry, goods, machinery, fittings, tools, stores of grain, cattle, etc. It seems not improbable that many of the items included in the total may have been counted twice over or included under some of the other headings of the valuation. It has to be borne in mind, moreover, that the increased duty rate has artificially raised the agricultural value of land by increasing its revenue ; and in the sitting of the Imperial Diet of June 23, 1909, one of the members estimated such increased value at 1,000,000,000£. The estimated value of the rural and landed property, and the landed property in towns, also appears excessive, particularly in view of the fact that during the past forty years the yield of the land tax has fallen off appreciably. The estimate of 1,500,000,000£. as representing the value of German capital invested abroad may be accepted.

The estimated value of the State railways does not appear to be unreasonable, and, as a matter of fact, a somewhat higher valuation might be justified on the basis of the net earnings of these railways during the

past three years. The valuation of 250,000,000*l.* for State mining properties, canals, etc., may also be accepted; but 500,000,000*l.* for public buildings, posts and telegraphs, etc., appears to be excessive. Official estimates support the valuation of 250,000,000*l.* for specie; and the estimated value of the mercantile marine, merchandise in transit, etc., need not be too closely criticised. The pamphlet was written to demonstrate the ability of Germany to bear the additional burden of taxation which was about to be placed upon her, and the writer has laid himself open to the objection that he has allowed this consideration to colour all his calculations.

On the whole it would not be unreasonable to assume that if, for the purpose of an international comparison, the national wealth of the United Kingdom be estimated at about 17,000,000,000*l.*, the national wealth of the German Empire may be estimated at about 14,000,000,000*l.* But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the evidence available points to the conclusion that the national wealth of Germany has during the past decade increased at nearly as rapid a rate as that of the United Kingdom, and that, if the German Empire continues to expand at the same rate which she has attained during that period, it is not improbable that her national wealth may grow as rapidly as that of the United Kingdom; but there are certain indications which point to the conclusion that this is improbable.

For many years German industry has enjoyed a specially favourable position owing to the lower wages paid and the longer hours worked. Within the past five years however the industrial conditions of Germany have shown a marked tendency to approximate to those of the United Kingdom, so far as these two points are concerned, and with the growth of wealth and the increased cost of living the German people are becoming less thrifty. The effect of these conditions on the accumulation of wealth is shown in the returns of the Prussian savings banks, which indicate that during the past three years the amount available for deposit was very much smaller in proportion than during the preceding five years.

The general conclusion to be arrived at from a survey of the economic position of Germany is that it is a matter



of the gravest concern for this country that an Empire so rich in material wealth, in population, and all that contributes to the making of a great world Power, should have set herself deliberately to the acquisition of a fleet of such strength that, even for the mightiest naval Power, a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardise its own supremacy. Germany is rapidly accomplishing the purpose set out in the preamble of her Navy Bill of 1900, and it has not weakened her military position nor has it crippled her national finances. Having regard to the comparatively easy manner in which she has attained the position of the second naval Power, it seems not inconceivable that she may be induced to go farther. It is to be feared that, so far as financial considerations are concerned, there is no insuperable obstacle in the way of such a policy.

The taxable resources of the United Kingdom are greater than those of Germany, and our taxes at similar rates are more productive. Germany has tapped, if she has not already practically exhausted, certain sources of taxation which this country has not yet ventured to touch. On the other hand, Germany has not yet pressed so far certain of the principal taxes on which we largely depend, namely, the death duties and the income tax. But we have to reckon with another factor, and that is the greater thrift and self-sacrifice of the German people; and it is quite impossible to attempt to measure how far this national characteristic will enable her rulers to go in the matter of increasing the burden of taxation.

The only policy open to this country, therefore, is a vast permanent increase in the naval expenditure. In proportion to the national wealth and the national income, it cannot be maintained that, in comparison with the great Powers of continental Europe, this country is overtaxed in the matter of expenditure upon armaments; and any hesitation now to realise the gravity of the financial conflict which is being forced upon us may ultimately involve the British Empire and the world in incalculable disasters.

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

*Thompson*  
*specimens*  
( 513 )

Art. 9.—GREECE AND KING GEORGE. ✓

No one who knows Greece can fail to be astonished, and more than astonished, by the strange comments on Greek and Cretan affairs which occasionally flow from the lips or pens of experienced politicians here and abroad. Some of those remarks would be statesmanlike if the conditions which they presuppose were real. But political intelligence and statesmanlike qualities of mind are useless if they are exercised upon a wholly imaginary view of the facts. And that is too commonly the case when the situation in Greece is under discussion. The social and political bent of the Greek people, the causes that have arrested its progress and sapped its vitality, the poisonous influence of political parties on the spiritual life of the nation, the aims of the Military League, and the influence of the King, are matters respecting which mistaken notions universally current have acquired the consistency of axioms. The object of the following pages, written without conscious bias, is to put the public in possession of the leading facts, which may enable it to form an independent and correct view of what is going on in Greece.

Of all nations in Europe the Greeks are, perhaps, the most difficult to govern by means of a democratic régime. Their good qualities, as well as their weaknesses, make themselves felt as formidable hindrances to that spontaneous co-ordination of national endeavour and individual sacrifice for the common weal without which no democratic community can thrive and expand. The capacity of the Greeks for political cohesiveness corresponds to the strength of their social instincts, and it is fair to say that both are uncommonly slight. In marked contrast, however, to the poverty of the nation's social and political equipment is the marvellous fitness of the individual for the struggle for life in its most forbidding aspects. He has the secret of creating something out of nothing. In the business of money-making, even in the face of disheartening odds, the Greek has but two rivals and no superior.

Like all Balkan peoples, therefore, the Greeks needed a strong government. Indeed it is hardly too much to

affirm that the number of political communities throughout the world which would receive benefit instead of harm from democratic institutions like our own is much smaller than was at one time hastily assumed. Bulgaria undoubtedly owes her present prosperous condition to the circumstance that her rulers, while constitutional in name, have been autocrats in reality. Happily for the Bulgarian nation they were also men of high political purpose. The Greeks, who are easy-going, cheerful, patient, and forgiving, resemble in some respects precocious children. Unreasonably exacting, they long to reap where they have not sown. Thus they clamour for a formidable army and refuse to contribute to its creation and upkeep. They expect their government to raise money without taxation, and get together troops without obligatory military service. They lack the quality of reverence in all its aspects, and treat the deity and the monarch with disrespectful familiarity. But it does not follow that they are either atheistic or republican. On the other hand, Greek politics are equally free from a labour question, a religious struggle, a socialist problem, and an agrarian difficulty.

Called into being in 1830, Greece enjoyed the rare advantage of being first, and for a time alone, in the field of Balkan politics. With no dangerous rival to fear, she found a noble task—union and fusion with six millions of kinsmen scattered over the Turkish Empire—soliciting the exercise of her highest powers, and sending the life-blood of the nation pulsing through every member. Leopold I of Belgium envied the lucky man to whose lot this glorious life-work should fall. It fell first to Otto of Bavaria, who reigned till 1862. On his expulsion, as the result of the revolution of that year, Prince William of Sonderburg-Glücksburg, son of King Christian of Denmark, was selected by the four protecting Powers as the Moses of the Hellenes. Assuming the title of George I, the young Prince entered upon his public life with ideals the reverse of those which attract born leaders of men. He laid greater store by the joys of living than by the sterner joy of pursuing high political and social aims in strenuous patience and heroic self-renouncement; and he was incapable of identifying personal success with the triumph of a national cause.

George I might have played a historic part in the renaissance of Hellas had he been able to conceive differently of his mission and dedicate himself to the service of the people whole-heartedly. For the Greeks were willing to follow the lead of a political athlete, of a statesman of constructive power, or even of a politician of masculine ardour; and had they encountered such a one events in the Balkan peninsula since 1833 might have run in a different channel. A leader like Porfirio Diaz of Mexico, Charles of Roumania, or even Ferdinand of Bulgaria, would have taken the dream of the Greek race for his own political ideal, helped his subjects to realise unity of national thought and feeling, quickened within them a sense of their own potentialities, and heartened them to high resolve and unselfish action. Between such a course and self-abandonment to the action and passion of the pleasure-seeking world, whose ideal is to browse in a paddock of Parisian delight, lies the sheer abyss which now threatens to engulf King George's subjects. Neither King nor people ever broke away from the dusky depths of individualism, whence they had no glimpse of the highest goal, not even in such broken lights as come in defective vision.

The disastrous consequences which Sir Edward Grey foretold for Egypt, if that country were prematurely endowed with constitutional government, ensued in Greece; — 'corruption, confusion, disorder, and oppression.' And these plagues have deprived King George's realm of national pith and sap, and left it helpless on the highway of nations. The forces of democracy were never organised in Greece; parliamentary life there was a vulgar farce with a tragic fifth act. The line of cleavage between parties was attachment to persons, not faith in principles. Around the leader who had most patronage to dispose of most followers flocked. \ Every change of Cabinet was followed by a general exodus of a whole army of officials from the posts in which they had been laying by money against a rainy day. Everybody, from the Prime Minister down to the street scavenger, was turned adrift. Judges were removable at the pleasure or displeasure of the Cabinet. Justice was a marketable commodity, like votes in parliament and votes in the constituencies, the prices of which were subject to slight

fluctuations. The press had to live on its wits, and could not afford to be squeamish as to expedients. 'Money does not smell,' was its maxim. The funds allotted to the defence of the country were squandered in discreditable ways, truth was sedulously adulterated, justice poisoned at its source, patriotism lost its meaning, and Greece was left drifting towards the maelstrom.

During this long period of political decay professional politicians had charge of the machinery of government. The King kept ostentatiously aloof. And this indifference has been lauded to the skies by his Majesty's apologists, while his critics, by way of counterpoise, term it the inexpressible sin, and point out that it would be deemed reprehensible in a steward, who, if conscientious, would not hesitate to punish waste and encourage thrift. The King of Italy was asked a few years ago to sign a document creating six new places in the Foreign Office. He enquired the motive. 'The work is too much for the present staff,' was the answer. 'Very good; remind me of it on Friday,' he said. Next morning the King went to the Foreign Office during the first hour of work and asked to see a certain official. 'He is absent,' said the servant. 'When will he be here?' 'As usual, about eleven.' That was two hours later than the time fixed by law. Further enquiry elicited the fact that the officials always worked several hours less than they were paid for working. And when Victor Emanuel was next asked by his Minister to ratify the order, he declined, gave his reason, and added, 'First let the regulations be observed, and then, if the pressure of business is too much, it will be time enough to appoint more officials.' In Athens too the public departments are empty in the early forenoon and at certain other times of the day when, according to regulations, work ought to be brisk. One may then enter freely from the street, wander through every room, and fail to find a human being astir. Last November a foreigner called at the Ministry of the Interior, found all the doors open, the lights burning, the tables full of documents, but no one to answer a question. Yet King George—his advisers declare—would sign an order to-morrow for increasing the number of officials if his Minister laid it before him.

Under every government, every leader, the sowing of

the wind went merrily forward. Between the two 'great statesmen' of the last century, Tricoupi and Delyanni, there was hardly a greater difference than between Pontius and Pilate. Each one contributed in turn to impair the vital interests of the nation. Tricoupi borrowed money with the recklessness of Dick Swiveller, and made promises to pay which were lighter than the breath that uttered them. He did worse: he 'commandeered' the proceeds of a railway loan and handed them over to the State. Unluckily for the Government they included German investments. Two reforming politicians, Rhalli and Sortiropoulo, coming into power vainly strove to undo the harm. Obtaining a moratorium, they issued bonds and intended to pay up. But Tricoupi, superseding them, repudiated their policy and went back to his system of extravagance. Subsequently, after having wasted the resources of the country, undermined its credit and brought down upon Greece the stigma of shiftiness in money matters, he rose in the Chamber and blandly said, 'I regret to announce, what you probably all know already, that we are unhappily insolvent.'

Delyanni, the rival 'great statesman,' struck out another line of action, but it led to the same goal. He economised some twenty-five to twenty-six million francs, declined to hand them over to the nation's creditors, and hoarded them until the war of 1897 broke out. At the close of the campaign German suggestion led to the establishment of a system of international financial control which still sadly hampers the movements of Hellas.

The war of 1897—a veritable catastrophe, not only for lesser Greece, which acknowledges the sway of King George, but for all Hellenes throughout the East—was a turning-point in the nation's destinies. By crippling the realm financially it took away the plenitude of the nation's independence and thrust it into the background of the Balkans. A hopeless struggle, which could only end in disaster, it injured the political credit of the Greeks for elementary common-sense. Then for the first time the world grew alive to the fact that of all the Balkan States Greece alone is, from a military angle of vision, a *quantité négligeable*; that her army is a crowd of undisciplined peasants, and her chief commanders are unversed in the elements of modern warfare. In short,

only a bitter enemy of Hellas would have welcomed the campaign against Turkey, which might aptly be likened to a war waged by the parish of St Pancras against the Ottoman Empire.

Now the one man who could easily have hindered that calamitous war was King George, and he held his hand. It cannot be argued in his defence that a constitutional monarch is invested with no such power of veto, and that it would be a breach of duty to usurp it. For, apart from the circumstance that exceptions are tolerated, it is an open secret that the King's continuous influence on the course of foreign policy had never been weakened by constitutional misgivings. Its source was the privileged relationship between him and the protecting Powers to whom the little State owes its existence and its well-being. Towards Greece they stood in the relation of an earthly providence from which all things might be hoped or feared, and King George's part was that of intercessor. Moreover, constitutional scruples did not deter him from seeking to obtain the island of Crete, not for Greece, but as his own fief. In 1898 Prince George, during his visit to Russia, when told that the union with Greece was for the moment impossible because subversive of the *status quo* which the Powers were concerned to uphold, requested Nicholas II to have Crete bestowed as a fief, not upon the kingdom of Greece, but upon his father, King George. But the Tsar, whose grasp of Near-Eastern questions is comprehensive, very properly declined to countenance this extravagant assertion of individuality.

It is manifest, therefore, that it was not constitutional scruples that kept George I from vetoing a war which was at once a folly and a crime. But what is less evident is the fact that the King helped actively and materially to bring it on, relying on the goodwill of the Powers to stay its progress, nay, to forbid its outbreak. Just a month before hostilities began, he had a long talk with a foreign diplomatist, which was destined for publication, and among other things he said :

'My patience has been exhausted. I now no longer ask anything of Europe, neither the independence of Crete nor its union with Greece. Consequently *I have myself decided* to unite Crete to Greece. . . . The Greek army has strict orders



to occupy and administer the island in my name. . . . It is possible that this, my unalterable decision, may displease the Great Powers, and it is also on the cards that they may take repressive measures. But in such case I am certain that I shall have on my side the whole of the Greek race, and this is the only lever I require.'

Language like this would have been at once dignified and inspiring if it stood for genuine feelings and real intentions. But this active stirring up of passion, this wilful toying with Greek fire, coming after a spell of the opposite policy, was but part of a poor game of bluff. The Powers were to be overawed, the Greek people conciliated and soothed, and the King to be lauded as the doughty champion in whose person the nation's ideals and strivings were gathered up. That, however, is a by-issue. The main point is that, as a consequence of fluctuant moods or of tactical considerations, the constitutional sovereign took upon himself to step beyond the limits set to his activity by the Constitution and to turn the scale when he should have contented himself with poisoning the beam. And then, after the disgraceful flight of the Greek forces from Larissa, the Crown Prince, whose conduct provoked caustic strictures from friend and foe, defended himself at an interview with a representative of the 'Acropolis' newspaper in the following suicidal terms:

'I was of opinion that we should not have entered upon a war. Nor did we believe that war would ensue. And I am not ashamed, nor do I hesitate, to tell you that when I went to Thessaly I did not think that we should really fight.'

During most of the period of darkness and decay that came after that crushing reverse, the Ionian party leader, M. Theotokis, was the guiding political spirit. Pliant and complaisant, he favoured the spread of Court influence from foreign to domestic policy, but confined it within constitutional forms. Corruption became the principal motive power of parliamentary activity, which was carried on by men of diseased self-consciousness or inordinate greed. Large sums of money were swallowed up in the administration by officials whose fingers were lime-twigs. For the proper training of public opinion a press syndicate was formed, which persuaded the banks to pay an annuity

to the newspapers composing it. M. Theotokis threw open the sluice-gates of the treasury resources and let a golden stream flow out upon the lucky supporters of the Government. Sinécures were created for the friends of the invisible wire-pullers, who set in motion the machinery that moved men's hopes and tempted their avarice. Gangs of parasites filled the government offices. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for instance, M. Rhalli found, last autumn, thirty-three military officers, who were absent from their regiments and in the employ of that department, solely because such was the will of the Crown Prince. Hordes of Greeks from Crete were in receipt of pensions and led lazy lives, of use to nobody. And while the resources of the nation were being thus wasted, the army and navy were neglected and the frontier left undefended. The outcome of this combination of political listlessness with an unceasing struggle of sordid interests, was the stifling of high ambition, the marring of national endeavour, the atrophy of the nation's noblest functions.

The ignominious issue of the war at first roused the nation from its coma. A genuine but shallow contrition for past sins began to be felt and uttered, accompanied by a resolution to make amends. But M. Theotokis diverted these wholesome national currents into the narrowest of channels. At the desire of the Court he used his parliamentary majority to create the post of Commander-in-chief of the forces for the young Crown Prince, and employed his suaveness to convince the country that that measure was the beginning of military regeneration. Public opinion, easily satisfied in Greece, gladly caught at this soothing affirmation and let things take their downward course. Military experts however warned the Minister and the Court that the measure would force the army into conflict with the Crown Prince and the parliament. One of the most competent and respected of them besought M. Theotokis to desist from his project in the interests not only of the army, but also of Prince Constantine himself, who had come out of the war damaged in prestige and bereft of popularity. But those warning voices died away unheeded and the inexperienced royal youth was placed in a position which enabled him to play havoc with the forces of his country. He alone

became competent to make appointments among the corps of officers and no one had the right of veto. This was a *reductio ad absurdum* of parliamentary institutions. On the one hand, the King could do nothing without his Ministers, nor the Cabinet without the assent of the King. On the other hand, this impulsive young Prince was made sole and absolute master of the army. His orders, which could make or mar it, needed neither the monarch's assent nor the approval of the Cabinet to give them force. And he was not chary of issuing them. In a couple of years the army was emasculated, the kingdom stripped of its defences, the union of Crete postponed indefinitely, and a crisis brought about to which the nation may ultimately succumb.

M. Theotokis perceived in the light of experience that, in using the army as a means of gratifying the young Prince's lust of power, he was sacrificing the weal of the nation to a whim of the monarch. The Minister frankly admitted to his friends that he had made a miscalculation, and promised to rectify his error by abolishing the post. But his hand was stayed once more. Again he hearkened to suasive voices from the Court and grew deaf to sterner promptings. Other years passed, the Crown Prince clung on to his post, and the army dwindled to a shadow. Each Premier in turn began by adjuring the King to abolish the office of Commander-in-chief, and ended by lending a hand to perpetuate the harm he deprecated. For the fond father was inexorable. At last the army, represented by the League, flung its sword into the scales of argument. And even then the sovereign continued to resist and let it be known to the Chamber that if the office were abolished he would vacate the throne. That move took the monarch beyond the bounds of constitutional prerogative and personal dignity. For when at last his will was overruled and the commandership abolished, the King not only acquiesced, but expressed regret that the Leaguers had not from the first communicated their patriotic programme to him, and enabled him to head their movement in favour of the sorely needed reforms.

This abrupt *volte-face*, thoroughly characteristic of the Court tactics, affords us a clue to the constitutional psychology of the monarch. Whenever, while swimming

against the stream of public opinion, he felt that he was about to be carried away by the headstrong current, he always tardily reversed his course. Nay, in such cases it has been his wont to seek to head the movement in the contrary direction. These simple but ineffectual tactics, which have been adopted at every phase of the present crisis, show that the King has been caricatured by those critics who painted him as an inflexible, strong-willed absolutist. It is natural that he should seize as much power as he can get, and it is not surprising that he should cling to it tenaciously. But what few people suspected was that, once confronted with politicians or patriots who, like the Leaguers, cried 'thus far and no farther,' and evidently meant what they said, he not only gives way and does the will of the stronger, but finds appropriate words in which to prove that it was the one thing needful. A monarch endowed with this useful blend of human nature and constitutional pliancy would, in the hands of a deft parliamentary potter, be a heaven-sent ruler. But the Greek Parliament had no such potter, but only soot-coated pots which were lustily calling the kettles black.

During the years of corruption that coincided with M. Theotokis' tenure of office, justice was bought and sold almost openly. Among the Court favourites was a certain judge of a tribunal of the first instance, before whom cases were sent in which courtiers were interested. And his judgments habitually fell out as expected. From grateful friends he accepted presents of money and presents in kind; so catholic was his taste in these matters that he did not turn away a sheep fattened on milk which came bleating into his courtyard one day from the penfold of a grateful client. He subsequently sold it as a rare delicacy to a butcher, who paid for it accordingly. The butcher killed the sheep and offered the mutton for sale at a high price to indignant customers who wanted it at the usual rates. Declining these offers with scorn, the meat merchant explained, 'This sheep was fed on milk. There is not another like it in all Greece. It belonged to Judge X, and I paid him heavily for it.' The people caught up and repeated the piquant story, which spread over Athens. Further facts were divulged, the press inaugurated a campaign, and this time even high pro-

tection failed to save the judge from dismissal. The incident of the judge and the butcher is typical.

Despite all these provocations, neither the country nor the army had allowed itself to be betrayed into a word or act indicative of disloyalty or disaffection. It was only when the outlook seemed hopeless that a few officers of spirit, moved by patriotism and military pride, bestirred themselves, founded the League, drafted a programme of reform, and eliminated from its methods reprisals for the past. On this remarkable proof of self-mastery or moderation sufficient stress has not been laid by the friends or the adversaries of the reform movement. It is matter for surprise and admiration that the members of the League, when masters of the situation, did not, in an outburst of wild rage against the authority whom they deemed guilty, dash themselves wildly against its rule.

In August 1909 the Porte humbled Greece to the dust by summoning her to disclaim any intention of ever annexing Crete. M. Rhalli, who was then Prime Minister, replied that, since Crete was a deposit in the safe-keeping of the Powers, it was not for Greece to make declarations about its future. But the Turks refused to take this answer. They were spoiling for a fight. In their dealings with Bulgaria they had had to cool their ardour and weigh their words, for Ferdinand's subjects were as ready with the sword as with the pen. Here it was otherwise. Greece was unprotected. Her only hope was in the Powers, and Turkey's prime object was to detach the Powers from their *protégée*. Accordingly the Porte presented a fresh note on August 13 insisting on the issue of a self-denying declaration respecting Crete, and another about Macedonia, Epirus, and the Turkish isles of the Archipelago. This was too much even for King George's subjects. Greece called upon her guardians for succour. Her sovereign drew upon the generosity of his powerful patrons. But this time his draft was not honoured. The Powers, who had wofully mismanaged their Near-Eastern interests, finding themselves now compelled to choose between feeble Greece and powerful Turkey, espoused the cause of the Moslem. Stung to the quick by this double disaster, the Greeks crept under the yoke, and wrote the self-denying stipulation. What else was there to do? There was no army, no ammunition, no

hope from a Cretan rising, no friend among the Powers, no royal intercessor as of yore.

That, then, was the outcome of the forty odd years of national decline during which there had been no *annus mirabilis*, no awakening of poignant consciousness, no moments of culminating ardour, no attempt at a well ordered course of sanative action. Greece has never had a statesman capable of awakening the racial or national consciousness, still less of bracing it to heroic endeavour. The central influence of politics had been corrosive. Between the great spiritual forces of western Europe and the political spheres of Hellas there had been no vital, no fruitful, relation. And when the people, bereft of saving faith, overcome by a sense of its own powerlessness, had yielded to circumstances and crumbled away into three million individual wills and interests, when, in fact, the nation was at its last gasp, the Military League arose. Its aim was modest: to kindle public spirit, to get the nation to recognise its malady and heal it, to move politicians to take public life seriously, and to save what had not yet been irrevocably lost. Its members had noted with poignant grief how different had been Turkey's treatment of Greece and Bulgaria; they perceived the cause of this difference in the weakness of the one army and the strength of the other, and they realised that the forces to which they belonged were as useless as painted wooden cannon would be in war. They also held that, as parliamentarism run wild was the chief cause of the *arterio-sclerosis* from which the nation was prematurely suffering, that system must be modified. One may well ask therefore whether it is not the League which is in reality the champion of a genuine conservatism, while the anarchist movement is fomented by its enemies.

The Military League consisted of unsophisticated officers—some of them hot-headed and unreasonable at times—whose notions about politics were concrete and simple. But they were all the more fitted to grasp broad issues plainly put, and to discern the lines of approach to their solution. Thus they asked whether, if a well-trained, well-equipped army, proportionate to the wealth and numbers of the population, be a necessary condition of normal health in a nation, the leaders visible and in-

visible of that nation, acting in the people's name, should be allowed to nullify every effort made for the purpose of raising such an army. Again, if the Court be, as it seemingly is, the embodiment of the spirit of negation, should the weal of the community be sacrificed to its whims? Or if the Chamber, whose function it is to represent, not so much the people as the people's vital interests, is, on the contrary, the agent of those who are damaging systematically those interests, is it not a patriotic duty to check the power for evil of that legislative body? Finally, should the patriotic elements of the nation let themselves be intimidated in the exercise of their duty by the spectacle of foreign warships in Phaleron? Those were some of the plain questions which presented themselves to the minds of those simple patriots. They go to show that the misnamed 'anti-dynastic' element in the revolution is but a healthy desire for reasonable reform countered by a bluff-like resolve on the part of the King and the friends of parliamentary corruption to thwart the endeavours of the reformers; while the alleged 'anarchic element' of the movement is simply again that same wholesome craving for political and social betterment which the well-meaning Powers in their bewilderment are frustrating by means of their warships.

Against the Military organisation it has been objected that its origin is revolutionary and its mode of action unconstitutional. And the statement is a useless truism. The national grievances, to redress which the reform movement came into being, have their origin in flaws of the Constitution. Consequently the Constitution needs revision and must be treated as a faulty mechanism. The advocates of the League say, with a good show of reason, that while their procedure may be incompatible with the letter of the Constitution, the conduct of their opponents has been one continual violation of its spirit. Was the King's threat that he would abdicate if the post of Commander-in-chief were abolished, in accord with the Constitution, they ask? Was it constitutional for the Powers, with the assent of the Court, to despatch their warships to Phaleron in order to checkmate the League and hearten the perpetuators of the abuses that were sapping the vitality of the nation? The Powers succeeded; they weakened the League which was



working for the best interests of the community. But if they thus assert the right of supporting the monarch against the nation, should they not also recognise the corresponding obligation of checking the harmful use of the royal influence which they are keeping the League from checking? It seems fair to ask, these advocates conclude, whether the Powers have a clear perception of the issues, and whether they are not trying to apply a dead standard to living fluid fact?

( Thus the Greek reform movement is a revolution not of interests but of ideas. They are homely feasible ideas, not metaphysical abstractions. The Military League took things just where it found them and sought to better them by such means as lay at hand. It failed to evoke enthusiasm, partly because of the nation's supineness of spirit, and largely because it did not ape the French revolutionary bodies, make a clean sweep of history and tradition, promulgate the rights of man, and promise a period of bliss. Leaving abstract rights alone, it concerned itself about the pressing needs of the people and the future of the nation, and endeavoured to attain its modest ends, not only without a volcanic upheaval, but without the effusion of blood. One of its greatest merits, in our judgment, is that, being itself the representative of brute force, it shrinks from all forms of violence and proclaims its belief in moral influences.

When the League resolved to cross the Rubicon and act, a number of its officers quitted Athens and formed a camp at Goudi, taking about 2000 soldiers with them. Four of their comrades, chivalrous monarchists who discerned their highest duty in strict fidelity to their oath of allegiance to the King, resolved to be faithful to that. They accordingly rode out to Goudi and called upon their soldiers to leave the mutineers' camp and return to Athens and their duty. Had they succeeded their revolutionary comrades would most probably have lost their lives. Aware of this, the insurgents, to be beforehand, rushed up to slay them. The president of the League, Colonel Tsorbas, sprang to the help of the quixotic monarchists.

209nās Their lives were spared, but they were subsequently tried and condemned to dismissal from the army for an act which was at once a plain duty and an heroic feat. But the cruel and unjust sentence could not be carried out

without the King's sanction, and everybody was convinced that his Majesty would withhold it. To his environment the monarch announced that he had made up his mind to abdicate rather than requite heroic loyalty with such base perfidy. But a few days later his Majesty gave way and expelled these officers from the army for devotion to his person and faithfulness to their duty. It was a new crime and a perilous precedent. Contemporary Europe has already branded with ignominy this unkingly and unmilitary act of surrender, and history will endorse the verdict. To the respectful remonstrance of friends the King is said to have replied, 'I am signing an enactment expelling my own sons from the army. Are the four officers more to me than my children?' ~~Yes~~

If the argument was worthless, the statement was correct. A Bill for removing all the King's sons from the army and navy was drafted and laid before the Chamber. That too was an ungenerous measure, which raised the King's resentment to its highest pitch. This, people said, is the issue on which the battle will be fought out between the sovereign and the League. At first it was publicly made known that if it passed the monarch would vacate the throne, quit the country, and take his family with him. But when he perceived that the League was unmoved by this threat, King George instructed his sons to write a letter to the Speaker requesting the Chamber to pass the Bill. And the Princes were accordingly dismissed from the army and navy and deprived of the right of wearing the King's uniform. It was a crushing and unnecessary humiliation. Yet a few days later the King eulogised the League. After these proofs of his Majesty's unbounded constitutional adaptability, the pulse of the royalist movement slackened. For there was a royalist party in Greece from the first, which, however, has not yet come in contact with an anti-dynastic current. Indeed, although dissatisfaction is widespread, disaffection is unknown. Open enemies to the dynasty there are hardly any; its dangerous back-friends consist of the male members of the royal family at home and the protecting Powers abroad.

The King has utilised to the full almost every opportunity that offered of overstepping the constitutional hedge which shielded him, and has thus hurt the sus-

ceptibilities and estranged the sympathies of his subjects. He baffled their exertions to create an army proportionate to their resources; he confided their interests abroad to his personal friends, of whom one was his *âme damnée*, and the other had not visited Greece for a quarter of a century; and when public spirited politicians were on the point of obliging him to effect desirable changes in the diplomatic staff, he induced a friendly sovereign to send him a telegram requesting that a certain Minister should be left at his post. Even respecting money matters—the most sordid cause of quarrels—the King managed to get at loggerheads with his people, refusing to vacate the stables—their own gift of half a century ago—the site of which, situate in the main street of Athens, has decupled its value, and is required by the city for trade purposes. Although the municipality offers an equally convenient site in another street, his Majesty obstinately refuses to vacate the stables for less than the full market value of the land. That, of course, is the King's right. But it is sometimes to a man's interest to waive his right. If George I had foresworn his right in this case, and asserted it when asked to punish four chivalrous officers for risking their lives in his cause, the dynasty would stand on a firmer basis to-day.

And the King's sons failed as hopelessly as their sire to gain the goodwill of the Greeks. Indeed it would be misleading to imply that they had ever tried. The Crown Prince, now become the impersonation of the forces that crushed the army, is more unpopular than his august father. Prince George, as High Commissioner in Crete, went far towards ruining the cause of that people. 'I am come to be your Peter the Great!' he told his advisers soon after his arrival, in reply to their suggestion that some consideration should be had for the wishes of his subjects. And he tried as hard to play the part as the suitors strove to bend Ulysses' bow, and with analogous results. He removed judges in violation of the Constitution, and to the astonished State Attorney\* he intimated his intention to punish disobedience with the bastinado! He gagged the press, suppressed all

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\* A born Greek who is now living at Athens.

journals but one, had the editor of that one put in prison, and then forbade even this paper. He appointed mayors of the towns and also the town councillors. Coercion was the 'open sesame' by which he hoped to square the political circle. M. Yannaris, a Cretan who had been professor at the University of St Andrews, wrote a confidential letter to Prince Nicholas suggesting that Prince George should not protract his stay in Crete, and that Prince Nicholas might perhaps succeed where his brother had failed. That confidential letter was forwarded by Prince Nicholas to Prince George, who had the professor condemned for it to two years' imprisonment. To crown all, he had the parliamentary Opposition put in prison, and when at last a humble petition was presented by the notables of the island, asking him to restore the constitutional régime, the Prince addressed them thus :

'You say that the Constitution has been trodden underfoot. Yes; I have trodden it underfoot. I still trample it underfoot; and what's more I mean to go on trampling it underfoot. I will brook no Constitution, I will respect no law, in order to obtain union with Greece. Don't think that it was by your exertions, or your blood, that you freed yourselves from the Turkish yoke. Nothing of the kind. It was neither your arms, nor your courage, nor your blood; it was solely through me and the Tsar that you were emancipated. Therefore bow down your necks.'

One of the members, M. Georges Fournis, remarked, 'In that case, Monseigneur, you ought to administer oxen and not independent citizens.'\* The upshot of this young prince's Cretan career was the intervention of the Powers, who had him smuggled out of the island.

Such are the domestic foes of the dynasty; they are of the King's own household. Their potency for evil is heightened by the ill-judged action of the Powers, who despatch their battleships to Phaleron whenever a sanative Bill is about to become law or a rational reform measure is assuming shape, which the King dislikes to-day but will praise to the skies to-morrow. This 'intermeddling' is bringing the protecting Powers, their representatives, and the King their *protégé*, into utter

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\* This was in 1904, in the month of March.

discredit. The sovereign is in no danger. Converging complaints and grounded dissatisfaction make it seem to foreigners that the Greek people is anti-dynastic. They are not. They feel that George I and his dynasty have been appointed to rule them by a cruel fate which they cannot alter without aggravating. They resemble the Siamese twins, who would gladly have parted had parting been an improvement. Although the apprehensions of the protecting Powers are on their sharpest edge, it is unlikely that George I, who has sacrificed power, prestige, and the dignity of a king and parent for his crown, will ever spontaneously renounce it or force the latent opposition between himself and his people to a pitch which would necessitate deposition. As for the Crown Prince, whose temper is more impulsive and much less pliant, it is possible that, should he ever ascend the throne, public feeling against him might mount to the heat of aggressive disaffection.

In the attitude of the sovereign, as outlined by his Majesty's public acts, one seeks in vain for some stray token of vision, grasp, breadth of judgment, or even of that manly whole-heartedness from which, in moments of fierce duress, kingly self-respect draws nutrition. George I has never been able to lead, withstand, or accept the new forces that are constantly arising round him; nay, if one may reason from his public policy, he invariably misread the central issue of every dispute until the battle was over. The besetting sin with which Greek patriots reproach him is undue influence over his Ministers whose days have been long in the land when they showed themselves docile and brief if they set public duty before subservience to the Court. It was this attraction of Court gravitation, or the suspicion of it, that brought about the fall of the League's own Premier, M. Mavromichali. After having carried countless measures, many of them highly sanative, through the Chamber, this able Minister was believed to be compassing together with the Court the overthrow of the League. His resignation was called for, and in the nick of time the League sent for the Cretan leader, M. Venizelo, who, going straight to the root of the matter, proposed that a National Assembly be summoned to revise the Constitution.

But to hold the King and the dynasty answerable for all the evils that now beset the Greek people would be grossly unfair. It is urged by the King's censors that he allowed the national defences to dwindle to a mere semblance. And it is not easy to rebut the charge. But what if he also held that that was sound policy? And he may well have believed that his subjects could not do better than dispense with a costly army and navy and trust to the Powers to make up for the deficiency. That is the theory on which a special pleader would rest the case for the King. Efficient defences and good finances, it might be argued, are incompatible in Greece. A powerful army implies flourishing finances, but the finances cannot flourish if they have to keep the army and navy well supplied with men, arms, ammunition, and barracks. For defence, Greece would require, at the least, a force of 125,000 well trained men, with the requisite barracks and frontier strongholds. And for such a band of defenders the nation is unwilling, and, under the present circumstances, perhaps unable, to pay. But suppose a force of this strength could be organised, of what use would it be in war-time? The cost of mobilisation—about one hundred million francs—would alone be prohibitive; for the country has no resources for meeting such demands. It possesses no war fund such as Germany and Russia have, nor can it raise a loan for the purpose because of the certain veto of the international control. These limitations are set by Fate itself, which has given Greece only 2,663,952 inhabitants, whilst bestowing on Turkey 25,000,000. However efficient the Greek soldier may become, and however large a percentage of the male population bears arms, Turkey will always be able to overrun Thessaly with troops and to capture Athens. The biggest army Greece can afford will therefore be as useless as the smallest. Why should she ruin herself by paying the difference?

And of the navy the same remarks hold good. Formerly things were different. In Hamidian times Turkey had no seaworthy ships to send against the Hellenic navy which swept the waters that wash the shores of the Balkan Peninsula. The Greeks could seize Crete, bombard Salonica, annex Chios, capture Samos—in theory. But when war was declared, a political fiat

forbade her to make use of her naval superiority. Austria vetoed the bombardment of Salonica. The friendly Powers debarred her ships from entering Cretan waters, although Crete was the stake she was playing for. Chios and other islands might have been seized, but the inhabitants sent their heartfelt sympathy to their Greek brethren and besought them not to occupy the islands lest it should lead to a massacre by the Turks. The upshot of the matter was that the only Greek warship that ultimately set out against the Moslems had to turn back because its supply of projectiles was useless. Those considerations point plumb in the direction of disarmament and prompt Greece to put her trust in the Powers. At the worst she will be much better off than if she relied on herself.

Whether true or false, that theory of the interdependence of the finances and the defences of the little realm would go far to explain if not to justify certain aspects of the King's policy. And its force is heightened by reflections of another order. Greece, whose population if united with that of Crete, would not be much over three millions, is at bottom a protected not an independent State. The limitations set to her independence are of a twofold character, political and financial. In the first place she may not arbitrarily depose the King, pass over his rightful heir, or change the monarchy into a republic. That is the real meaning of the foreign warships in Phaleron. Consequently, against the King's rule, however baleful, so long as it is clad in constitutional forms, there is no redress. *Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.* The Powers are the backers of the dynasty; they may grow remiss in protecting Greece, but nothing shall keep them from befriending her ruler. A word addressed to a foreign Minister will bring formidable battleships into the Piræus or Phaleron, and British sailors into the tea-rooms of Chrysaki in Athens. The financial control, if less brutally irksome, is equally real. If a Cabinet seeks to raise money for defences in view of a possible campaign, the control will frown, and its frown will be translated into ruinous terms by the financial syndicate from which the money is expected. Practically, therefore, financial control connotes a veto on the national defences. Greece, thus hampered on all sides, is not an independent



State, and she needs no bigger army than the republics of San Marino and Andorra. After all, politics is the art of the possible, and the ideals that lure Greek patriots lie in the sphere of the unattainable. Such, in brief, are the views which would throw the least unpleasant light on the attitude of King George.

This doctrine, jejune though it be, if the King had had faith in it, would have borne him with dignity through the dreary period of decay with which his name is now indissolubly associated. But the country will look at it in the light of a personal excuse, not of a political theory. For there is not a shred of evidence to show that his Majesty had any perception of the needs of his people, or any grasp of the principles which, judiciously applied to them, would have enabled him to use this theory as his defence. The finances were squandered systematically, not only in feeding the channel of corruption, but in keeping up the semblance of efficient defences which only lulled the nation's fears. Nay, the friendliest eye looks in vain for a single thread of continuity of purpose during the King's long reign. He never once displayed in action a spirited insistence on determined political ends, still less on a coherent system of policy. The only practice from which he never deviated was to lay the blame for every new crisis on the Powers. But, as the American proverb coarsely puts it, 'cussing the weather is mighty poor farming.' At no period of his reign can the King be said to have had an eye to the requirements of the moment, or a steady will to pursue a set course of political action.

Whatever may have been the right course to strike out when Prince Wilhelm assumed the title of George I, forty-seven years ago, it is evident that money and money's worth in national defences constitute the key to the position to-day. In the future of Greece—if Greece have a political future—financial solvency and military efficiency will be the decisive factors. Well-trained troops, a well-filled treasury, and a master-mind to keep the ship of State from swerving from its course, would enable Greece to follow slowly in the steps of Bulgaria. But are these conditions of success possible in view of what has just been pointed out? And, if possible, are they likely to be realised by the highly cultured Hellenes?

We doubt it. For the effort now needed is almost superhuman, while the obstacles are not stationary but growing.

For the troubles that have sprung from the Cretan fiasco, politicians blame M. Theotokis and the King, who in turn shift responsibility on France, England, and Russia. For years the Powers had been preparing Crete for union with the mother country in the belief that Turkey was doomed to disappear from Europe. They had allowed the Cretans to have their militia and gendarmerie officered by Greeks, and their post-office and tribunals managed by subjects of King George, and they crowned their work by transferring the suzerain rights of the Sultan to the King of the Hellenes, who now appoints the High Commissioner of the island. Adjured to effect the union without delay, the Powers buoyed up Greeks and Cretans with the soothing assurance that Europe would shortly be ripe for the annexation. And the hour of destiny struck at last in October 1908, when Eastern Roumelia was welded in one with independent Bulgaria. But Turkey had not disappeared; she was alive, active, and indignant. This *contretemps* upset the well laid plans of the Powers. Moved by unerring instinct, Crete proclaimed the union, but Greece, on the advice of M. Theotokis and the King, shrank from recognising it. That was a fatal mistake. What made it all the more irritating was that it was committed by the same monarch who, in 1897, had actively helped to plunge the country in a hopeless, ruinous war for Crete. Had the union been accepted, every Power in Europe, including Turkey herself, would have been better for it to-day; and now they all admit it. The King's plea is that the Powers promised that if he held his subjects back the annexation would be proposed by France at the European Conference which 'was certain to meet in a few months.'

Thrice the Powers erred gravely in the short space of a few years, and one of the consequences of their short-sightedness was the crisis which still keeps Europe in a chronic fever of apprehension. They began by favouring the Greeks in the assumption that the sands of the Turk were run down, yet they were needlessly slow in detaching Crete from the Ottoman Empire, confident that in the Near East no deep-reaching change was to be looked for.

And when the most opportune moment had come for fusing the two countries in one, they light-heartedly sacrificed substance to form, assuming that the successful states of Europe, actuated by a spirit of brotherhood, would consent to meet at a round table and pay for acquisitions which they accounted lawful booty.

At present Crete is united with Greece in all but the name. The members of the Government have taken the oath of office to King George as their predecessors did. The Constitution is that of Greece, the stamps and coins and flag are Greek. In short, the last threads that once bound Minos' isle to Turkey are severed. Turkey is eager and able to assert her fictitious rights of suzerainty. Greece is impatient to enjoy the increase of prestige and strength which union with Crete will bring her. And between the ebb and flow of these two floods the protecting Powers are caught. Young Turkey is palpitating with passion. Crete and Greece are boiling with impotent rage. The spirits of the adversaries are rising, and the direction imparted to European politics may at any moment lead to disaster. And yet at bottom the real issues between Greece and Turkey are trivial. Come what may, the island of Minos can never again be made to acknowledge Ottoman sway. Crete is certain to be absorbed by Greece or to absorb her. Formal annexation, therefore, which would cost Turkey no material sacrifice, would be of measureless worth to Greece, whose demands on life are moderate. United, and concentrating their efforts on constructive work, Greeks and Cretans would be a help to their neighbours; sundered and straining after a forbidden goal, they constitute a chronic danger. At present Greece has lost caste in the world of nations. As a political factor she is not reckoned with by either friend or foe.

Summing up, one may describe political Hellas as almost at death's door, yet not wholly bereft of hope of recovery. For it is not impossible that heroic efforts may ultimately bring about convalescence; but it is inconceivable that she should ever again take over the inspiring part in the Balkan drama for which she seemed alike fitted and predestined half a century back. The propitious moment came and found her with unlit lamp and ungirt loin, and passed on to the Slav who was

ready. New conditions have sprung up in the Peninsula since then; hardy enterprising rivals have appeared on the scene, too well-equipped to be ignored even by the great Powers, and strongly backed by some of the greatest. In short, no politician of weight any longer fancies that, at the end of the rainbow vision of Hellenic greatness and power and glory, which still sends thrills of delight to Greek hearts throughout the world, there is any real gold to be hoped for.

But already steps have been taken in the direction of improvement. Out of the bottomless welter of strife and confusion which prevailed down to January, the Cretan leader, M. Venizelos, has evolved relative order. On his arrival in Athens at the invitation of the League, the King and Court uttered the usual cry of alarm, to which the whistles of the foreign battleships in Phaleron sounded the traditional response. But Venizelos went to work undaunted. The one salve he brought for the wounds of the nation was union. And to everybody's surprise, in a few weeks he bridged the chasms that had sundered parties and factions. He then proposed to have a National Assembly called, in order to bring the Constitution into line with contemporary requirements. But the mere mention of such a body was gall and wormwood to the King, who declared that the measure, if adopted, would add the last element needed to turn the mutiny into a revolution, to embitter the relations between ruler and people, and to force him to lay down the sceptre. The foreign diplomatists also blew the same horn right lustily. But within a few weeks M. Venizelos persuaded everybody that the one issue out of the 'no thoroughfare' led through the hall of the National Assembly. And the King, again tardily swimming with the current, extolled the proposal as ingenious and effective. Whatever may be thought of the royal tactics, the praise is merited, and M. Venizelos approved himself a benefactor to the sovereign as well as to the country. And now there seems no reason to doubt that the Assembly will meet in autumn and prune and trim the Constitution in harmony with latter-day needs.

The Greek Government might do worse than empower M. Venizelos, who has thus worked wonders as a peace-maker and negotiator, to tackle the delicate task of

approaching the Turks on the subject of Crete, which, as long as it remains an open question, will continue to be an open wound. To the request of the Powers, who displayed more craft than straightforwardness in their dealings with Turkey and Greece, the Porte naturally turns a deaf ear. But Turkish statesmen might be less obdurate to Greece, who disposes of a powerful lever in the influence of the Hellenic colonies of the Ottoman Empire. For, by scientifically pressing this lever at the right moment and in the proper place, some of the strongest ethnic currents which threaten the stability of the young Turkish fabric might be diverted into a harmless channel.

The most difficult of the domestic problems is the re-organisation of the army, which has been thrust into salient prominence by the agitation of the Military League. For there can be no doubt that a powerful army is the backbone of a State. Now, from this point of view, Greece is not a State at all, or at best but the pithless semblance of one. And she is condemned to linger on in this condition of helplessness unless and until her citizens assimilate the lesson of self-abnegation, and show by telling acts their readiness to be taxed for the weal of the whole community. This change of conduct, however, presupposes a sudden growth of those social instincts in which the Hellenic nation is characteristically deficient. And such an abrupt uncaused change would be a little less than a miracle.

*Eye of God* *indicated*  
*reiter* *subject* *Gripe*

# Art. 10.—THE REFERENDUM AND ITS CRITICS.

1. *The Referendum in Switzerland.* By Simon Deploige, advocate. London: Longmans, 1898.
2. *Popular Government.* Four essays. By Sir Henry S. Maine. London: Murray, 1885.
3. *The Crisis of Liberalism: New Issues of Democracy.* By J. A. Hobson. London: P. S. King and Son, 1909.
4. *By the People. Arguments and Authorities for Direct Legislation, or the Initiative and the Referendum. Direct Legislation Record.* By E. Pomeroy and others. Newark, N.J. (Published quarterly.)
5. *The American Commonwealth.* By James Bryce. Two vols. Third edition. London: Macmillan, 1893.
6. *The Reform of the House of Lords.* By W. S. McKechnie. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1909.

IN 1880 the name of the Referendum was unknown to Englishmen. In 1885 Maine revealed to his countrymen the existence in Switzerland of this 'most recent of democratic inventions.' His 'Popular Government' was marked by all his brilliancy of style. It lacked something of his usually sound judgment. It was nothing else than a clever diatribe against democracy. To Maine the Referendum was merely a *reductio ad absurdum* of democratic doctrine. No man of half his ability could in 1910 treat this constitutional invention after Maine's manner of supercilious superiority. The lapse of twenty-five years has worked a revolution in public opinion. The name of the Referendum is now on the lips of every person interested in political theory. The general nature of the institution is pretty well understood. The Referendum is perceived to be the formal acknowledgment in matters of legislation of the nation's veto. Under whatever shape it exists we all now know that the Referendum is the application of the following principle, namely, that—if for convenience I may use English parliamentary terms—no Bill of serious importance, e.g. a Bill changing the constitution of either House of Parliament, shall pass into law or become an Act of Parliament until and unless it has been submitted to, and received the sanction of, the electors who vote on the question, whether such Bill shall or shall not become an Act of

Parliament. This Referendum, or appeal to the people, or national veto, aims at achieving one or both of two compatible objects, namely, first, that a Bill of importance shall not, even though passed by both Houses of Parliament, become an Act or law of the land against the deliberate will of the nation; and secondly, that when a legislative deadlock arises through the one House of Parliament passing and the other rejecting a given Bill, the deadlock shall be terminated by such Referendum, or appeal to the electors as aforesaid, on the question whether the Bill shall or shall not become an Act of Parliament. The fact is, as is now well known, that, even when Maine wrote, the institution was not peculiar to Switzerland. It derives its name from that country, but it had long existed, if not in name yet in reality, in all the States of the American Commonwealth. The Referendum now forms part of the institutions of the Australian Commonwealth. It has been introduced into that new polity under the Constitution Act passed by the Imperial Parliament. At this time of day an institution which only amused or amazed Maine can no longer be treated as merely an absurd though legitimate deduction from fallacies which, as he held, vitiated the whole theory of popular government. Like other constitutional contrivances which have stood the test of time, the Referendum is the product of circumstances and experience. Lecky was no Radical. But he foretold, as early as 1896, that the idea embodied in the Referendum was destined to exert a wide influence, and might be used to temper the defects of parliamentary government. His forecast has been completely justified by the event. The Referendum at this moment arouses the attention and excites the hope of many reformers. But their approval of a democratic institution is not due to any increased enthusiasm for the principles preached by Rousseau and at one time adopted throughout the Continent of Europe by all Republicans. Even in France the principles of 1789 have lost much of their popularity.\* Englishmen turn their eyes towards the Referendum because the last thirty years have gradually revealed to all candid observers

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\* See especially Chardon, *'L'Administration de la France: Les Fonctionnaires.'*



some unsuspected weaknesses of parliamentary government. Obstruction has robbed the English House of Commons of half its dignity. The closure and the guillotine (necessary though they may be) have destroyed that free and rational debate which was once supposed to be the soul of the representative system. With unfettered debate has all but vanished the liberty of voting. Lowell's 'Government of England' demonstrates with arithmetical certainty that the rigidity of party discipline has increased year by year. Hence has perished, or is perishing, the silent authority exercised between 1832 and 1870 by the more moderate members of the House of Commons. No two statesmen ever differed more widely than Peel and Palmerston; they both however understood the House of Commons created by the Reform Act of 1832. Each of them exerted untold influence by his capacity for conciliating the actual, if not always the nominal, support of the moderate men of all parties. The crushing defeat of 1832 did not prevent Peel from reconstructing the Conservative party by 1835. He pursued with consummate skill a policy which was more attractive to moderate Whigs than the ideas—some of them very sound ideas—advocated by the Whig leaders, and which was more acceptable to sensible Tories than the high Toryism of Lord Eldon. Palmerston, at the height of his power, was in reality the representative of moderate opinion. He was the most popular leader of the Liberals. He was preferred by many Conservatives to Disraeli. The triumphs of Peel and of Palmerston do not now admit of imitation. Party discipline has created a machine which overpowers the independence of individual members. In 1893 the electorate of the United Kingdom, taken as a whole, detested the Home Rule Bill carried through the House of Commons by Mr Gladstone. The measure was never supported in that House by a majority of more than about forty members. No historian will doubt that many English Liberals regarded with anything but liking the Bill pushed through the House by their votes. Yet the faithful forty stood firm. They were not independent legislators, they were the trained soldiers of their party. But who can doubt that, but for the establishment of household suffrage, the conviction of independent mem-

bers of Parliament would have made it impossible for a majority of forty to have passed through the House of Commons a Bill which proposed to revolutionise the constitution of the United Kingdom? Nor does the lesson of 1893-1895 end here. The events of those years show that in the matter of Home Rule the deliberate will of the country was expressed, not by the representative and elected House of Commons, but by the hereditary and unelected House of Peers. An assembly freely chosen by the electors may fail then to represent the nation. This is the truth which was first forced home upon Englishmen in 1895. It is a truth which the exercise of the Swiss Referendum impresses on every student of constitutional history. This detected weakness in the working of representative government is the portentous addition to political knowledge supplied by the recent annals of democratic progress throughout the civilised world. It is the knowledge of this weakness which is yearly gaining in England adhesion to the principle of the Referendum from statesmen of the highest character and of the widest experience. Hear, for example, these words of Lord Rosebery:

'There is nothing I should rejoice at as much as any reference of that kind [i.e. an appeal to the people for assent or negation of the Budget], if there were any constitutional means of obtaining it without mixing it up with other issues foreign to it, and which may directly impair the directness and validity of the decision. If you had the Referendum in this country—and I for my part believe that you will never arrive at a final solution on questions of difference between the two Houses without some form of Referendum—I should vote for it on this occasion.'\*

The spread of a new belief inevitably excites the increased opposition of those who do not become its converts. The idea of the nation's veto is abhorrent to Liberal-Conservatives, to Parliamentarians, and to Revolutionists, especially if they be Socialists.

The criticism of a Liberal-Conservative is still best expressed in a classical passage from Maine's 'Popular Government':

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\* Lord Rosebery's speech in House of Lords, 'Times,' November 25, 1909, p. 6; and 'The Lords' Debate on the Finance Bill,' published by 'The Times,' p. 75.

'I do not undertake' (he writes) 'to say that the expedient [of the Referendum] has failed [in Switzerland], but it can only be considered thoroughly successful by those who wish that there should be as little legislation as possible. Contrary to all expectations, to the bitter disappointment of the authors of the Referendum, laws of the highest importance, some of them openly framed for popularity, have been vetoed by the People after they had been adopted by the Federal or Cantonal Legislature. The result is sufficiently intelligible. It is possible, by agitation and exhortation, to produce in the mind of the average citizen a vague impression that he desires a particular change. But, when the agitation has settled down on the dregs, when the excitement has died away, when the subject has been threshed out, when the law is before him with all its detail, he is sure to find in it much that is likely to disturb his habits, his ideas, his prejudices, or his interests; and so, in the long run, he votes "No" to every proposal. The delusion that Democracy, when it has once had all things put under its feet, is a progressive form of government, lies deep in the convictions of a particular political school; but there can be no delusion grosser. . . . All that has made England famous, and all that has made England wealthy, has been the work of minorities, sometimes very small ones. It seems to me quite certain that, if for four centuries there had been a very widely extended franchise and a very large electoral body in this country, there would have been no reformation of religion, no change of dynasty, no toleration of Dissent, not even an accurate Calendar. The threshing-machine, the power-loom, the spinning-jenny, and possibly the steam-engine, would have been prohibited. Even in our day vaccination is in the utmost danger; and we may say generally that the gradual establishment of the masses in power is of the blackest omen for all legislation founded on scientific opinion, which requires tension of mind to understand it, and self-denial to submit to it.\*

The essence of Maine's attack is that in his eyes the Referendum constitutes an appeal from knowledge to ignorance, from enlightenment to prejudice. His reasoning is surely not without force. But its effect is reduced, if not annihilated, by considerations which, even when he wrote, he overlooked, or by facts which in 1885 might well escape his notice. By his own admission the Referendum is the most powerful check hitherto invented on

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\* Maine, 'Popular Government,' pp. 96-98; conf. 41, 67.

the inconsiderate or foolish action of democracy; no one has a right to complain of an effective bridle that it is not a spur. Maine reasons with considerable effect against democracy. But he does not even attempt to show that where democratic government is established the representatives of the people are sure or even likely to be in all circumstances far wiser or more patriotic than the electors themselves. Still less does he prove that where party government is, as in England, fully developed, an elected House of Commons will display the wisdom or the independence assuredly possessed by some, though by no means the whole, of its members. He does not, as in 1886 was natural, even recognise the danger, which every one now knows to be a very pressing one, that representatives of the people may, consciously or unconsciously, place the interest of their party far above the welfare of the nation, or come *bona fide* to believe that the welfare of the nation can be absolutely identified with the success of a particular party. Maine's feeling when arguing apparently against the Referendum, but in reality against the supremacy of numbers, was that the House of Commons is certain to be far more trustworthy than the mass of the electors. Yet Maine himself had no profound belief in the wisdom of Parliament. He had attacked with vigour the abolition by Parliament of the old East India Company.\* He admired, not without reason, the rigidity to be found in the Constitution of the United States. He assuredly distrusted the party system. But, with all his rare gifts, he seems, as a politician, to have lacked the sense of reality. He never perceives what is the true question at issue between the advocates and the opponents of the Referendum. The point in debate is whether the English democracy now established in power requires to be spurred on towards rapid legislation by the factitious and by no means always disinterested agitation that forms the life of the party system, or rather needs some strong check on the tendency to yield at once to the prevalent idea, sentiment, or passion of the moment. The aristocratic Parliament destroyed by the Reform Act of 1832 was, at any rate towards the end of its exist-

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\* See 'Maine : Life and Speeches,' pp. 15-17.

ence, too little disposed to move with the times. The middle-class Parliament which determined the destiny of the country between 1832 and 1866 was in many ways checked from, if not always indisposed to, vehement action. The traditions of an earlier time, the influence of statesmen such as Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, who had been trained during the existence of the unreformed Parliament, the ideas prevailing among the English middle class itself, were all guarantees against sudden or imprudent action. The electorate between 1832 and 1866, and their representatives, erred rather by a dislike for any bold and decisive policy than by the disposition to violent and hurried action even when carried through under legal forms. The parliaments of that era listened to the warning, again and again repeated by men such as Bagehot, that sound action is the fruit of long and hesitating thought, and that delay in attempting the solution of difficult political problems is worth the price, immensely heavy though it sometimes is, of permitting on all important subjects lengthy discussion to precede energetic legislation. Maine, oddly enough, distrustful though he was of democratic government, seems at any rate, when he criticises the Referendum, to have dismissed from his mind the idea that representatives elected by democratic constituencies might, especially when under the influence of a party machine, be inclined towards violent action and need the restraint imposed by some sort of veto. His whole charge against democracy seems to be that a popular government is not necessarily a progressive form of government. Admit, without hesitation, that this is so. Admit that during many periods of English history democratic institutions would have arrested salutary reforms. Admit, what is probably true, that, as Maine urges, the existence of a national veto would, at certain periods of English history, have delayed progress, and, to take two of his most striking illustrations, have prevented the toleration of Dissent, and the adoption of an accurate Calendar. From these concessions the indisputably sound conclusion follows, that there have been many times when, and that there are now many countries where, the establishment of democratic institutions would have been, or be, madness. But this conclusion hardly tends to prove that in all cases

and in all circumstances a flourishing democracy would act wisely in entrusting unrestrained legislative power to its elected representatives. Nor do the annals of modern Switzerland bear out Maine's assumption that progress is impossible where the veto of the electors can stop the legislative action of a representative assembly. No man of candour and knowledge will maintain that the Swiss have not from time to time erred in rejecting laws laid before the electorate by the Federal Assembly. To a foreign critic the errors committed are not very patent, and seem not very numerous. But it were folly to claim for the Swiss people an infallibility or even an unvarying good sense which certainly cannot be ascribed to the English Parliament. Maine's reference to vaccination in the celebrated passage already cited from his 'Popular Government' has turned out infelicitous. True it is that 'even in our day vaccination is in the utmost danger.' This may be a valid argument, as far as it goes, against popular government. But then is the enforcement of vaccination at all safe when left to the sole control of Parliament? What are we to say for the childish deference now paid in this matter to the conscientious objector? Is it not at least arguable that a system of compulsory vaccination, when once in working order, could be less easily upset in a country where a retrogressive change could not, owing to the existence of the Referendum, come into force unless such change were sanctioned by the majority of the electorate, than in a country such as modern England, where a government still commanding a parliamentary majority, but trembling at the result of each by-election, might purchase transitory success by abject submission to the commands of a fanatical minority of anti-vaccinators? The simple truth is that the experience of Switzerland tells, on the whole, in favour of the Referendum. Switzerland makes constant use of the new democratic invention, and Switzerland is not an unprogressive country, whilst the democratic government of Switzerland is armed with far stronger weapons for resistance to Socialism than is the parliamentary government of England. But, on the other hand, fairness requires the admission that the constitution, the traditions, the whole circumstances of Switzerland, differ so widely from those of England

that no candid advocate of the Referendum can, from the success of the Referendum in Switzerland, predict with confidence that it would work beneficially in England. What can fairly be urged on that point is this: In the opinion of many competent judges, one source of our constitutional difficulties is to be found in the increasing power of the party system, and the Referendum certainly does, in favourable circumstances, put a check on the power and the development of the machinery of partisanship. However this may be, Maine's criticism on the Referendum is for the most part irrelevant. He exposes the weaknesses of democracy, he does not show that they are increased rather than diminished by the institution of a national veto.

The objection of parliamentarians generally takes one of two forms.

The first form is summed up in the statement that a general election performs substantially in England the part of a Referendum in Switzerland. From a general election, it is said, you may in substance, though not in so many words, obtain the expression of the nation's will on the leading measures submitted, or to be submitted, by a government to the consideration of the country. This contention has one grave defect: it does not correspond with the facts of English public life. At times, no doubt, though the occasions are rare, an election may constitute an almost direct appeal to the people on the question whether a particular Bill shall pass into law? It then is a sort of informal Referendum. One instance of such an informal appeal to the people is to be found in the 'leading case,' to use legal phraseology, of the Great Reform Act. It was passed in 1832 to the cry of 'The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.' No man of competent knowledge doubts that it received the assent of the nation. But in 1832 the peculiar course of events placed the electors in a position very like that occupied by the people of Switzerland when asked under a Referendum to accept or reject a constitutional change which has been formally passed by the Federal Legislature. There have been one or two other crises in which a general election has been a rough kind of Referendum. But these instances of a genuine and definite appeal to the people are rare, and the further development of the party system is



making them year by year rarer. At the very best a general election confuses a question of persons with a question of measures. How is a reasonable man to vote squarely and fairly when forced to answer, by one and the same vote, two quite separate enquiries, namely, first, whether he prefers Mr Asquith as Prime Minister to Mr Balfour, and secondly, whether he does or does not wish for the destruction of the House of Lords? But when we take a general election, not at its best, but at its worst, it turns out to be for all practical purposes nothing like a Referendum. As the party system is now worked in England, a general election lays before the electorate a huge number of incongruous and confused issues on the whole of which it is absolutely impossible for the ablest and most temperate of electors to give a satisfactory reply; for note in passing that the voter has practically no other means of giving a verdict on the issues which he is supposed to determine than the very awkward and indirect one of voting for either a supporter or an opponent of the Government. Put the last point aside and let us consider for a moment a few among the numerous questions raised at the general election of January and February last. Had the House of Lords a constitutional right to reject a Finance Bill passed by the House of Commons, and reject it on the ground that it was condemned by the people? Was the Finance Bill, or Budget, in itself a just and wise measure? Is the policy of Tariff Reform preferable to the policy of Free-trade? Ought the House of Lords to be left unchanged, to be mended, or to be ended? Ought Home Rule to be granted to Ireland? Ought women to be admitted to the parliamentary franchise? These are a few among the most important of the enquiries to which a puzzled elector was supposed to give an answer. The perplexity of the situation was increased by the fact that neither the party leaders nor the candidates for a seat in Parliament would or could make up their minds, or at any rate state plainly, what was the main issue on which the electors were called upon to decide. The voter was told at one time that the matter in dispute was whether Free-trade was more beneficial to the nation than would be Tariff Reform. At another moment he was informed that the sole subject worth consideration was whether

the House of Lords had or had not unconstitutionally invaded the rights of 'the Commons'—an expression, by the way, which meant sometimes 'the privileges of the House of Commons' and sometimes 'the rights of the people.' The man about to give a vote was in reality in a position as grotesque as would be the situation of a jurymen who, being called upon to find a given prisoner 'guilty' or 'not guilty,' was told by the judge at one moment that the man in the dock was being tried for murder, and at another moment that he was being tried for larceny. An artificial system perverted by the arts of partisanship led to confusion worse confounded, of which the effects are too serious for jocosity, but the absurdity too ridiculous for anything but laughter. The Ministry went to the country, as the expression goes, on the strength of the so-called 'People's Budget.' It had been approved in the House of Commons by large majorities. The Peers appealed to the people against a Finance Bill which was no real Finance Bill but an attempt to work a social revolution by the authority, not of Parliament, but of the House of Commons alone. The Ministry obtained at the general election a majority of some 124 votes. The question of the Budget seemed settled. The fact soon, however, became as clear as day that the coalition which supported the Government could hardly hold together. It became equally clear that while all Unionists had denounced, every member from Ireland, whether a Unionist or a Nationalist, detested the Budget. The indisputable result was that, in regard to the Budget, the will of the nation was represented, not by the representative and elected House of Commons which passed the Finance Bill, but by the non-representative and hereditary House of Peers which refused to let the Finance Bill become an Act of Parliament. The People's Budget has been rejected by the people. No bribe which leads Irish Nationalists to accept for the moment financial proposals which all Ireland abhors, will deprive of their true meaning facts which no man can dispute. The general election of 1910 will remain for ever a satire upon the attempt to identify a general election with a Referendum.

The objection of parliamentarians to any form of national veto often assumes another and a different form.

The electors, it is urged, are able to decide whether a particular man is likely to be a wise and patriotic member of Parliament; they may even perhaps determine whether a particular leader, say in one age Chatham, in another Peel, in a third Palmerston, is the man most fit to be Prime Minister; the electorate or particular electors, in short, may form a sagacious judgment on personal character; but the opinion of the electors on matters of policy or legislation is hardly worth having. The duty, therefore, of a voter is to support a good man as his representative, or even to give a vote in favour of a Minister whom a large part of the nation admires; but when this is done an elector has fulfilled the whole of his duty and ought to leave the management of affairs in the hands of the excellent men who, on account of their public and private virtues, have obtained seats in the House of Commons. This, one is often told, is the principle which not only ought to govern, but does govern, the choice and the position of English members of Parliament. The principle sounds a fine one. The notion of a country ruled by all its best and wisest citizens, chosen for seats in Parliament solely on account of their conspicuous virtues and of their statesmanlike prudence, must, it would seem, meet with general approval. Unfortunately, the picture of a House of Commons consisting of good men to whom absolute power has been confided by wise electors, though it embodies some slight elements of truth, never really represented the nature of the English Parliament in any age. It is an absurdly false representation of the English House of Commons as it now exists. It is absolutely inconsistent with the actual working of our party system. In the present year of grace members of Parliament are and must be elected in England, not, of course, without reference to personal character and ability, but chiefly because they represent a party to which certain electors belong, and because they are in the main prepared to obey the directions of the leaders of that party. It was assuredly neither want of high character nor lack of marked and parliamentary ability which has, to the loss of the nation, closed to Mr Harold Cox and to Lord Robert Cecil the entrance into the present House of Commons. In plain truth, the principle of the Referen-

dum, by whatever name you call it, has for many years past been claiming a place among the ideas which make up the ruling maxims of English constitutionalism. No man can speak with more authority on any question of constitutional theory or practice than Mr Bryce. Listen to words published by him some seventeen years ago :

'A general election' (he writes), 'although in form a choice of particular persons as members, has now practically become an expression of popular opinion on the two or three leading measures then propounded and discussed by the party leaders, as well as a vote of confidence or no confidence in the Ministry of the day. It is in substance a vote upon those measures; although, of course, a vote only on their general principles, and not, like the Swiss Referendum, upon the statute which the Legislature has passed. Even, therefore, in a country which clings to and founds itself upon the absolute supremacy of its representative chamber, the notion of a direct appeal to the people has made progress.'\*

His language is characteristically moderate. He in words overrates somewhat the superficial likeness between a Referendum and a general election, but he clearly recognises the fact that the nominal supremacy of the representative Chamber was, even in 1893, becoming in practice qualified by the notion of a direct appeal to the people. What was partially true in 1893 has become completely true in 1910. The time has arrived for the formal recognition of a principle which in fact, if not in theory, forms part of our constitutional morality.

Another and essentially different objection to the Referendum tells for much with parliamentarians. The Referendum, it is urged, must 'tend to paralyse any acute sense of responsibility in parliamentary life; members of the House of Commons might justify their ill-considered or interested votes on the ground that the last word rested with the people, who must accept the first responsibility.'† This criticism merits attention, but its importance may well be exaggerated. The 'acute sense of responsibility' attributed to the House of Commons is at the present moment not very easily discerned by an impartial observer. True it is that timid members of Parliament

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\* Bryce, 'American Commonwealth,' i, 466, 467.

† McKechnie, p. 90.

who, as the expression goes, are sitting on the fence, may try to shift the burden of decision from themselves to the people. But this is, after all, a less evil than the constant attempt to escape responsibility for dubious policies by placing the obligations of partisanship above duty to the country. The Referendum will be an untold blessing if it revives a sense of responsibility to the nation. The proper solution, further, of many, though assuredly not of all, political questions does, we must remember, rightly depend upon its being in accordance with the real will of the nation. If ever it should be clearly ascertained that the vast majority of the electors of the United Kingdom were opposed to the maintenance of the political union between England and Ireland, or had become zealots for bestowing parliamentary votes upon women, not the sternest opponent of Home Rule, or of Woman Suffrage, would in most cases deny the necessity for establishing a Parliament at Dublin or for the registration of women among parliamentary voters. Such concession on the part of Unionists or of opponents of Woman Suffrage would be no superstitious homage to the moral authority of the *vox populi*, but a simple acknowledgment of the fact that, under any form of popular government, it is an impossibility, and therefore not a duty, to maintain institutions which are permanently condemned by the will of the people. The Referendum gives expression to the will of the people, and under any form of popular government the people must be treated as the sovereign, and entitled to obedience.

But it is from revolutionists or Socialists inspired by the fanaticism of partisanship, rather than from Conservatives or Parliamentarians, that comes the most vehement of all the attacks on the Referendum. Let my readers weigh for a moment the following extracts from a political tract of no great merit, entitled 'Against the Referendum.'

'The Referendum would work steadily to the disadvantage of the Liberal Party.'

'It must surely be obvious that there would never be a sufficient number of voters enthusiastic enough about any one reform to carry it in the teeth of the formidable opposition that would make itself felt through the Referendum. When the people vote at an election, they vote for a number of reforms, both social and political; the man who cares for

one may be quite indifferent to another. The keen educationalist may have given no thought to licensing reform; the zealous advocate of old-age pensions may detest Home Rule.'

'Imagine now that some great reforming measure, on which a Liberal Government has received a clear mandate from the country, has been rejected by the Lords, and that the rejection is accompanied with a demand for the Referendum. Would not money be spent like water by all those interests which imagined themselves assailed? Would not a thousand glozing orators be launched upon the constituencies, picking holes in the proposed legislation, seeking to arouse the basest and most selfish interests? Would not the anti-reforming press exhaust itself in malignant falsehoods calculated to deceive the people? And when the Bill—the child, perhaps, of the wisest and most enlightened brains in England—had been contemptuously flung out by a small but sufficient majority, what would be the position of the Government which was responsible for the defeated measure?'

This rant may all be summed up in one sentiment uttered some years ago, in a more or less public debate, by a speaker who inclined apparently towards Socialism. 'The people are too stupid to be entrusted with the Referendum.' And rant, which is of little value in itself, is of great importance as an indication of prevailing opinion. The author, whoever he be, of 'Against the Referendum,' betrays a belief by no means uncommon, that the constitution and the powers of government itself exist in a country such as England, not for the sake of giving effect to the will of the nation, but in order to secure the power and authority of a party. No doubt the fanatics of partisanship are often from their own point of view sincere patriots. A partisan of the higher type believes that the triumph of his own ideas will be the salvation of the country. He believes further that the victory of his convictions depends upon office being obtained by the party to which he belongs. Such a one may be a genuine enthusiast, he may call himself a Liberal or a Democrat. He has, whatever his virtues, no right to either title. He disbelieves in liberty if granted to his opponents. He disbelieves in the supremacy of the nation unless the nation has come round to his own faith. Such a man is, as things at present stand, likely enough to be a Socialist. And though it is quite true that many Socialists are as fair-minded as their opponents,

yet there exists a real reason why a certain kind of intolerance is likely to be found in connexion with Socialism. A Socialist may really be a democrat in the sense of being one who wishes that the powers of the State should be used for the benefit of the whole people. He may be a Liberal in the sense that he is willing to use parliamentary institutions for the attainment of socialistic ends. But for all this there exists, as many thinkers hold, an essential inconsistency, which is gradually becoming visible to every one, between the ideals of Socialism and the ideals of Democracy. Socialism tends towards the authoritative government of experts; Democracy tends towards the promotion of general prosperity through the protection of individual freedom and the stimulating of individual energy. In any case 'Against the Referendum' affords an argument of untold weight in favour of a national veto to men who feel that the Referendum is the strongest of protections against the pressing danger of the despotism of partisanship.

All opponents of the Referendum—Conservatives, Parliamentarians, Socialists, and that omnipotent 'man in the street,' of whom we hear so much and know so little—dispose of an innovation which they depreciate or detest by the one dogmatic plea that 'the Referendum will not work in England.' The boldness of this assertion is to half the world a guarantee of its self-evident truth, whilst its vagueness and ambiguity add to the difficulty of its confutation. Hence it is worth while to expose the hollowness of a dogma which rests upon slight, if any, basis of argument.

The plea that the Referendum will not work in England has at least three different meanings.

It may import that in this country it is impossible to establish by means of legislation an institution which will attain the objects for the sake of which the Referendum has been introduced into countries where it works effectively. Now these objects are, as has been already pointed out, twofold.

The first and the primary object of the Referendum is to ensure that the laws passed by a representative Assembly or Parliament shall be in conformity with the deliberate will of the nation; this is the main use of the Referendum under the Federal Constitution of



Switzerland. But it is certain that the Imperial Parliament could, if supported by the electors, easily carry through legislation which would greatly diminish, if not entirely get rid of, the risk of any law being enacted by Parliament which, though it fell in with the wish of a predominant party, was opposed to the deliberate will of the electors, that is, of the nation. The simplest method of attaining this end would be to pass a Referendum Act. Such a statute should contain two main provisions which I do not attempt to reduce to the technical language of parliamentary draftsmanship. The first provision should be that no Bill which repealed, changed, added to, or otherwise affected the Acts enumerated in the Schedule to the Referendum Act should, even though passed by both Houses of Parliament, become an Act of Parliament, i.e. a law, unless and until such Bill had been submitted to, and received the sanction of, the majority of the electors voting on the question whether the Bill should become an Act of Parliament. These scheduled Acts should at first, at any rate, be few in number, and should in any case be statutes of the highest importance, such, for example, as the Act of Settlement, the Union with Scotland Act, 1707, the Union with Ireland Act, 1800, and the various Parliamentary Reform Acts. Among such scheduled Acts ought to be included the Referendum Act itself. The second provision of the Referendum Act should be that any Bill, or so-called Act, passed by both Houses of Parliament and assented to by the Crown, which, whilst affecting any one of the scheduled Acts, had not been sanctioned by and on an appeal under the Referendum Act, should be held invalid by every court of law throughout the British Empire. Our supposed Referendum Act would clearly, as regards any enactment whatever included in its Schedule, e.g. the Act of Union with Ireland, make an alteration impossible without an appeal to the people. The Referendum Act would further in no way diminish the need for obtaining for every Bill whatever the sanction of both Houses of Parliament and of the Crown. It would do nothing more than require for any Bill affecting the statutes scheduled in the Referendum Act the sanction, not only of Parliament, but also of the electorate. Such an Act therefore provides the appropriate means for preventing legislation pleasing

to a party which for a time possesses a parliamentary majority, but opposed to the permanent will of the nation.

A Referendum Act, it is sometimes urged, would, after all, as long as the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament is acknowledged, be futile, for Parliament could clearly evade the Referendum Act by adding to any Bill which affected any scheduled Act (e.g. the Act of Union with Ireland) words exempting the Bill from the operation of the Referendum Act. This criticism is worth notice. It is verbally sound, but in reality it is, except in one possible case, without force. The electors may be trusted to resent an attempt to deprive them of legal power ensured to them by the Referendum Act. No party leader will risk this resentment. The Referendum Act will be less subject to change, except by way of extension, than any enactment in the statute book. In one exceptional state of circumstances, and in one alone, the Referendum Act might in fact be over-ridden by Parliament. If the safety of the country imperatively demanded rapid and immediate legislation, Parliament might assuredly, with the approval of all loyal citizens, escape from the bonds of the Referendum Act, just as, at the present moment, if the safety of England is at stake, a Government may break, and ought to break, the law of the land, and rely on an Act of Indemnity to cover conduct which, though technically criminal, is dictated by the necessity of protecting the State against imminent peril, e.g. of foreign invasion. The latent sovereignty of Parliament is in truth an argument, not against, but in favour of the Referendum. It preserves to the English Constitution that degree of flexibility which, in the changing circumstances of the world, cannot be absolutely sacrificed without imperilling the welfare of the United Kingdom.\*

It is then, in reality, past a doubt that in England, as elsewhere, a Referendum can by proper legislation be created which will secure for the country one of the main

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\* The Swiss Constitution itself in effect allows the necessity for a Referendum to be in effect dispensed with by the Federal Parliament in the case of laws 'of an urgent nature,' and leaves to the Parliament the sole and final decision of the question whether a given law is of an urgent nature. (See Federal Constitution of Switzerland, Art. 89.)

objects for the sake of which a Referendum is called into existence.

The second object of a Referendum—the main purpose, indeed, for which it exists in the Commonwealth of Australia—is the termination of the kind of deadlock which sometimes arises when the two Houses of Parliament differ as to the passing of a given law. There is, it is suggested, some difficulty in determining how in this case the Referendum ought to be brought into play. The simplest, though certainly not the only method suitable for this purpose would appear to be the passing of an Act which should give to either House of Parliament, on any occasion when the House of Lords and the House of Commons could not agree as to the passing of a particular Bill, the legal right to demand that the Bill should be made the subject of a Referendum, or an appeal to the electors, and that the result of such appeal should decide whether the Bill should or should not become an Act of Parliament. There is, it is submitted, no reason whatever to doubt that an Act of Parliament, though it might necessarily contain some rather complicated provisions,\* could easily be drawn which would make it possible to terminate a legislative deadlock of the kind referred to by the use of the Referendum. And, if this be so, there is not the least ground for the assertion that a Referendum might not be introduced into England which would so work as to secure for the country the second object for the sake of which the institution exists. But, even to earnest advocates of the Referendum, it may appear a question still open to discussion whether it be expedient to use the Referendum as a means for removing legislative deadlocks arising from disagreement between the two Houses of Parliament, and this for the following reasons: (1) We have as yet a comparatively small amount of experience as to the success of the Referendum when used for this purpose; (2) the Referendum, nominally used merely to remove a parliamentary deadlock, might occasionally, though not often, operate, not as a check upon, but as an incitement to, hasty legislation; (3) the end proposed might be attained by a different and possibly better method. The experience

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\* See Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, s. 128 and s. 57.

of the French Senate suggests that, if the House of Lords were improved or reformed by being reduced for legislative purposes to, say, 300 persons, the kind of legislative deadlock might be removed by an enactment that the two Houses, if they could not finally agree as to the passing of a Bill, should sit, debate, and vote together as one assembly, and that the vote of such assembly should determine whether the Bill should or should not pass.

The assertion that the Referendum will not work in England may again mean that it is impossible to provide with us the almost mechanical means by which the electors may vote 'Aye' or 'No' on the question whether a given Bill shall become an Act of Parliament. This statement needs no elaborate refutation. A mode of voting which is practised with success in Switzerland, in almost every State of the American Commonwealth, and in the Commonwealth of Australia, can assuredly be successfully practised in England also. Among Englishmen of otherwise sound sense there exists a curious habit of asserting that institutions which flourish abroad cannot be made to work in England. A sensible solicitor will tell you that the sale and purchase of English land does not admit of simplification. He treats as of no importance the fact that the sale of land in France is carried out with an ease unknown to sellers or purchasers of land in England. Let the principle of the Referendum be once accepted by Englishmen as sound and the difficulties of putting it into practice will vanish.

The statement, lastly, that the Referendum will not work in England may mean that the creation of the nation's veto is inconsistent with the further development, and even to some extent with the actual working, of party government as now understood among Englishmen. This is profoundly true; but then we shall find that, to the advocates of the Referendum, its recommendation to a great extent lies in its tendency to correct the defects and to check the further development of a party system which they believe is working injury to the nation.

Before stating the arguments in favour of making trial in England of an institution abhorrent to Conservatism, to parliamentarianism and to dogmatic Socialism, it is well to note two circumstances which

tell in favour of giving a trial to a novel proposal. The first of these circumstances is that the change advocated is one of those very rare constitutional innovations which may be the object of real experiment. In this it differs from proposals to give parliamentary votes to women, or to place the government of Ireland in the hands of an Irish Parliament, guided by an Irish executive. Common-sense tells us that either of these steps, when once taken, can never be retraced. With the Referendum it is otherwise. There is not the remotest reason why it should not be tried in some special case, and then, if it be found not to answer, never be tried again. The second circumstance is that the national veto is perfectly compatible with any other change, such as the reform of the House of Lords, or the adoption of proportional representation, which may commend itself to thinkers or statesmen. The experiment of the Referendum can certainly be tried without peril. The direct reasons in favour of such trial may be broadly summed up under two heads:

*First: The Referendum makes it possible, in a way which in England it is now impossible, to get on any matter of real importance a clear and distinct expression of the will of the nation.*

The Referendum submits to the electors a clear and distinct issue to which Englishmen can give as decided an answer as the Swiss. It may be absolutely decisive one way or the other of the matter on which the opinion of the nation has been obtained. Let the question, shall a Bill giving parliamentary votes to women either be accepted or rejected by the undoubted majority of the electors of the United Kingdom, and we may be certain that the question which now harasses, though it certainly does not excite, the country, will be for a considerable time set at rest.

The Referendum is the only check as yet suggested strong enough for its purpose. A reformed Second Chamber might possess a veto more powerful than any check on legislation possessed by the present House of Lords, but the authority of the very best constituted Second Chamber would be far less potent than the authentic voice of the nation. The strength of the Referendum lies in its being at once a conservative and a

democratic check on the power of any party which, though supreme in the House of Commons, did not in reality represent the settled will of the English people. It is easy for a disbeliever in democracy to find forcible arguments against the newest democratic invention. But the genuine democrat is estopped from denying the validity of a direct appeal to the people. The democrat who prefers the verdict given on the confused issues raised by a general election to the verdict of electors who are consulted on a separate, limited, and distinct issue, is driven to the absurdity of maintaining that he will hear with deference the decision of Philip drunk, but will refuse attention to the decision of Philip sober. A democratic institution may, I fully admit, be a faulty and an undesirable institution; my sole contention is that, if you wish to place a check on rash or impolitic legislation, that check is strongest which falls in with the democratic belief and sentiment of the age. The Referendum further, as applied to the United Kingdom, provides for the equal representation of every part of the United Kingdom. The predominant partner will, if we create a national veto, for the first time exert his legitimate and beneficial authority. The Referendum, further, cannot so easily as can the vote of the electorate be perverted from its proper use by the ingenuity and unscrupulousness of party managers. They will do their best, or their worst, to subject the national veto to the control of the 'Machine.' They will sometimes succeed; but, on the whole, they will find it difficult to coerce or to corrupt the majority of the electorate.

*Secondly: The Referendum, and the Referendum alone, holds out the hope that some limit may be placed on the ever increasing power of the party system.*

Thus the action of the nation's veto will of itself revive a recognition of the now far too little respected authority of the nation. Even party managers and wire-pullers will be forced to remember that they owe obedience to the will of the country when the nation on a critical occasion utters with its own voice its undoubted command. The Referendum again may give a new freedom to all persons who take part in public life. A voter may feel himself delivered from bondage to the despotism of party spirit when he finds that he may vote against a

measure which he condemns without voting for the expulsion from office of Ministers who command his approval. The possibility of a Government remaining in office when the country disapproves of some measure which Ministers recommend to the electors for acceptance, seems a strange thing to Englishmen of to-day, though it was perfectly familiar to their grandfathers, who had again and again seen Pitt, the most powerful of Prime Ministers, forced to acquiesce in the defeat of his proposals, and to acquiesce without a thought of resigning in consequence. And to a Swiss citizen it seems at least as strange that Ministers who propose a measure to which the country does not assent should of necessity cease to be the servants of the nation. To him it appears the most natural thing in the world that, when once the will of the nation has been pronounced, statesmen should obey the national command and continue to render loyal service to the country. If once Englishmen adopt, not only the Referendum, but also the spirit in which the Referendum is worked in Switzerland, some other changes of considerable benefit to England might ensue. An administrator, whose talent and character every one respects, might remain in a Cabinet without agreeing with every measure advocated by the Government. There does not appear in the nature of things to be any clear reason why a Chancellor of the highest legal eminence should not remain a member of a Cabinet though he does not agree with all the political views of his colleagues. No doubt this suggestion is foreign to the customs of the English Constitution as they now exist. It is alien to party government as at this moment carried on in England. But it is opposed to no rule either of honesty or of common-sense. The nation would gain a good deal, though party organisation would be weakened, if officials, such as the Lord Chancellor or the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who ought to possess very special aptitudes, and ought not to be very ardent partisans, did not necessarily go out of office with every change of Cabinet. The Referendum would certainly facilitate the continuous employment in successive Cabinets of men who, whilst holding a particular office, such as that of the Chancellorship, acted rather as experts than as men who shared the political opinions held by their colleagues. The existence of the national



veto might, lastly, give new honesty—a thing certainly much wanted—to the public life of our country. The party system introduces into the working of the constitution a host of shams and fictions; but shams and fictions inevitably foster insincerity. The fiction (for it is nothing better) that the members of a Cabinet always act together in perfect agreement leads at times to studied misrepresentation, which, as it hardly deceives the public, ought not, perhaps, to be characterised as mendacity. A Minister, again, is often not only driven to support a policy from which he partially dissents, and which he accepts in reality because it is approved of by the nation, but is also induced to pretend, which is a pure evil, that he heartily agrees with measures which his judgment condemns. The Referendum would at any rate lessen the need for constitutional pretences. There is nothing disgraceful or dishonest in a statesman obeying the commands of the country. The dishonesty begins when he pretends that he approves every order which he obeys. There is, of course, no doubt that if the Referendum once took root in England it would give rise to changes in the working and in the morality—if I may use the expression—of the Constitution. Hence parliamentarians who hold that the Constitution is working admirably, naturally object to any fundamental change in its character.

On this point it may be allowable to cite words written some twenty years ago:

‘Of speculations which have some family similarity to the ideas propounded in this article, my friend Mr Morley (whose zeal for party takes me by surprise) warns us that they “must be viewed with lively suspicion by everybody who believes that party is an essential element in the wholesome working of parliamentary government.” \* To this suspicion all who call attention to the merits of the Referendum are, it is to be feared, obnoxious. . . . The party system, whatever its advantages, and they are not insignificant, is opposed to the sovereignty of the people, which is the fundamental dogma of modern democracy. That system throws the

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\* Lord Morley re-echoes and re-affirms Mr Morley's convictions of 1890. ‘I hold firmly that all this idea of an election *ad hoc*, of a Referendum, a *plébiscite*, and a mandate is a complete departure from the wholesome usages of this country.’ (‘The Lords’ Debate on the Finance Bill, 1909,’ ‘Times’ ed., p. 107.)

control of legislation first into the hands of a party, and then into the hands of the most active or the most numerous section of that party. But the part of a party may be, and probably is, a mere fraction of the nation. The principle of the Referendum, on the other hand, is to place, at any rate as regards important legislation, parties, factions, and sections under the control of the national majority. The creation of a popular veto is open . . . to grave objections. The consideration, however, which, more than any other, may commend it to the favourable attention of thoughtful men, is its tendency to revive, in democratic societies, the idea which the influence of partisanship threatens with death, that allegiance to party must, in the minds of good citizens, yield to the claims of loyalty to the nation.\*

The language here cited is as true in 1910 as in 1890—perhaps truer. To contented parliamentarians in office it naturally seems that all is going on for the best under the best of all possible Constitutions, and that the Referendum is as odious as it is unnecessary. But a different view may as naturally present itself to observers who stand quite outside parliamentary life and have taken no hand in the party game as played at Westminster. Such men are no more dogmatic democrats than is Lord Morley. But to them it seems that evils which in 1890 were latent in the party system have now become a patent disease which threatens to destroy the healthiness of English public life and the welfare of England. Such observers are no worshippers of democracy, but they acknowledge the existence of popular government and the democratic spirit. They hold that the worst form of popular government is democracy corrupted by the party system. They know as well as any one that the more or less mechanical devices of Constitution makers, or Constitution menders, can, however ingenious, never accomplish as much good as is always expected by its inventors from political machinery. But these critics of the English party system are convinced that the heart of England is sound, and hope that the veto of the nation may, if once constituted and honestly used, rescue the Constitution from the perils with which it is threatened.

A. V. DICEY.

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\* 'Contemporary Review,' April 1890, pp. 510, 511.

Art. 11.—ANCIENT AND MODERN STOICISM.

1. *La morale stoïcienne en face de la morale chrétienne.* By l'Abbé A. Chollet. Paris: Lethielleux, 1898.
2. *The Religion of Plutarch, a Pagan Creed of Apostolic Times.* By J. Oakesmith. London: Longmans, 1902.
3. *Die Stoa.* By Paul Barth. Stuttgart: Frommann, 1903.
4. *Stoic and Christian in the Second Century.* By Leonard Alston. London: Longmans, 1906.
5. *Silanus the Christian.* By Edwin A. Abbott. London: Black, 1906.
6. *The Stoic Creed.* By William L. Davidson. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1907.
7. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to himself.* By Gerald H. Rendall. London: Macmillan, 1901.
8. *The Creed of a Layman; Apologia pro Fide Mea.* By Frederic Harrison. London: Macmillan, 1907.

And other works.

It is related that, when Pope Leo XIII was *in articulo mortis*, his memory failed him, and his mind fastened on childhood and youth. Then those about him heard him repeating the meditations of Marcus Aurelius. It is one instance out of many of the persistent influence of Stoicism and its undiminished fascination for the noble-minded of any creed, or no creed, in almost every age or country in the civilised world. In its modern form it has become, to use an expression of Amiel, 'the last resource of doubt,' the evangel of those who have lost their faith in the supernatural, a kind of refuge from religious despair.

Matthew Arnold, in one of his 'Essays in Criticism,' and Prof. Abbott, in his recent work on 'Silanus the Christian,' following the lines of M. Renan's matchless presentation of M. Aurelius and his time, have endeavoured to estimate the relative importance of Stoicism and Christianity as the two great moving forces in the regeneration of the Roman world. Others of more recent date have dwelt on the special claims of Stoicism as a system of ethics, its pathetic appeal to the autonomy of conscience, its peremptory command 'to live by law' and to follow nature, at a time when the religious sanctions

of morality no longer exercise unquestioned authority. The scientific temper of mind which refuses to acknowledge any other guide but reason, readily turns to the rationalistic and critical theory of the universe offered by Stoicism as a philosophy of life. The agnostic, again, finds in it a more congenial view of the universe than that offered by any of the religions, for, like him, the Stoics 'found in the progress towards virtue a sufficient end in existence.' In its materialistic spiritualism and pantheistic mysticism, its implicit trust in the world-order and belief in moral evolution, in its yearning for the simple life, the *mediocritas aurea*—'plain living and high thinking'—we note a further blending of Stoic conceptions and modern modes of thought; while in its altruistic cosmopolitanism, regarding humanity as a living organism, and in its humanitarian sociology, it is in close touch with Positivism, or the 'Religion of human duty.'

Another modern creed, or philosophy, which finds a kindred spirit in Stoicism is what is called pragmatism, which makes the value of truth depend on its application. Stoicism sets up an exalted sense of duty against the apathy of nescience, and so, somewhat like pragmatism, becomes a working hypothesis for practically disposed minds, for all those who, with the Stoic in the purple, resolve 'to do the work in hand with scrupulous and unaffected dignity, affectionately, freely, justly.' Prof. Huxley, in one of his letters, speaks of Stoicism as his 'Grin-and-bear-it philosophy'; and its appeal to common-sense has a bracing effect on character and conduct. In what M. Renan calls its '*frénésie de renoncement*,' its resolute protest against self-indulgence and self-seeking, it endeavours to counteract the corroding effects of modern scepticism and cynicism in private and public life. And still to-day, as on its original appearance, it bears traces of the influence of Oriental modes of thought. Hence the tinge of sadness and resignation in its speculations, so that even in its eudæmonistic aspirations it seeks no other satisfaction than that which comes from the sense of fulfilled duty.

Such, in brief, is modern Stoicism as a philosophy of life, appearing and reappearing at different epochs of intellectual restlessness consequent upon the unsettle-

ment of religious convictions; and as such it made its mark at different times, notably at the period of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the French Revolution. Montaigne reads Plutarch 'since he speaks French' (i.e. in Amyot's translation), and sees in Seneca a kindred spirit, 'ondoyant et divers,' like himself; and he speaks of the works of both these writers as 'the prime and cream of philosophy.' Erasmus, as Lord Acton reminds us, esteemed Seneca more highly than any Christian divines, and among other diligent students of the same writer were Zwingli and Calvin. In the seventeenth century Epictetus is held in such high esteem among the orthodox that a saying is ascribed to a devout German warrior that it were well if no other books existed besides the Holy Scriptures except Seneca and Epictetus, since these two would put to shame professed Christians, who failed in everyday life to reach their high standard of holiness. François de la Mothe-le-Vayer, a religious sceptic, is a disciple of Epictetus; and Leibnitz accuses Spinoza of having revived Stoicism in his ethic. Justus Lipsius and Lord Herbert of Cherbury are under stoical influence; and M. Faguet sees traces of it in the great French tragedians. From Roman Stoicism Rousseau and 'The Saints of the Encyclopædia' learn their own glorification of Nature; and, as J. R. Green points out in one of his letters, from it the leaders of the Revolution derive their stern severity in applying its principles to political life. Pope's 'Essay on Man,' as a characteristic production of the eighteenth century, has been described as 'Stoicism in verse'; and finally, in the 'Prelude' Wordsworth speaks like a Stoic of 'The calm existence that is mine When I am worthy of myself!' thus keeping up its continuity, as an ideal to satisfy the needs of the spiritual life, almost down to our own age. And its part is still conspicuous in the present day. As in its first appearance in the world, it still offers fixed principles of thought and action to minds and wills paralysed by doubt. Thus the late J. Addington Symonds, speaking of the need of a deep firm faith to escape from the misery of scepticism, says:

In these difficulties I fall back on a kind of stoical mysticism—on the prayer of Cleanthes, the proem of Goethe's "Gott  
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und die Welt," the phrase of Faust, "Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren," the almost brutal optimism of Walt Whitman's "I cry to the Cosmos, 'Though thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee.'" Can a religion be constructed out of these elements? Not a tangible one, perhaps; nothing communicable to another heart. But a religious mood of mind may be engendered sufficient for the purpose of living not ignobly.'

This is the very essence of modern Stoicism, and similar thoughts may be read between the lines of Paul Heyse's tragedy of Hadrian, which serves to show how Stoicism dignified the old Imperialism, whilst Emerson's writings are full of stoical optimism and the enthusiasm for the passionless state of the philosophic mind in the midst of the whirlpool of modern life. So, too, the academic school of poetry in France yearns with Aubrey de Vere in this country for the 'soul's marmoreal calmness'; and Maeterlinck, assuming for the nonce the *toga* of the Roman Stoic in the proud self-contained determination to become a law unto himself, says in 'Wisdom and Destiny':

'Let us not forget that it is from the very non-morality of destiny that a nobler morality must spring into life; for here, as everywhere, man is never so strong with his own native strength as when he realises that he stands entirely alone.'

All the moderns are in search of 'composure and ethical fortitude' amid the turmoil of a restless environment. Overpowered by a sense of the insignificance of life and the vastness of the engulfing Cosmos, in the face of so many enigmas which defy solution, they feel what 'the apostle of philosophic calm' expresses in the following lines written in Kensington Gardens:

'Calm soul of all things! make it mine  
To feel, amid the city's jar,  
That there abides a peace of thine  
Man did not make, and cannot mar.

The will to neither strive nor cry,  
The power to feel with others, give!  
Calm, calm me more! nor let me die  
Before I have begun to live.'

Sainte-Beuve, Arnold's ideal critic, says of himself that, after attaining what he had hoped for in life, and as it approached its termination, 'I sought to arrange my

existence with quietness and dignity.' His aim is to cultivate 'a good healthy stolidity,' and with steady dutifulness to perform the necessary functions of existence, to face the facts of life fairly and fully, 'to keep your eyes steadily fixed on one unattainable ideal,' as Mrs Craigie puts it in 'Life and To-morrow,' 'and condemn in yourself all that falls short of it; do that and I will call you happy.'

As to the future life, the modern, like the ancient Stoic, leaves the question unsolved, and for that very reason feels the need for a profound readjustment of our general views of the meaning of life and of the 'structure of the universe,' as Mr F. W. H. Myers says in 'Science and a Future Life.' This is what the Stoics of old attempted in similar circumstances—to satisfy serious enquirers after truth, to discover new rules of conduct, to fortify irresolute consciences, to reconcile materialism in science with spiritual aspirations, and thus, if possible, to find a way of escape from the dualism of matter and mind in some kind of system of cosmic unity. Then, as now, the need was felt of a corrective for excessive individualism with its all-absorbing pursuit of wealth as a means of irresponsible self-indulgence. Then, as now, men were seeking for a higher ideal to give direction and force to the movement for self-repression and unselfish devotion to the common good.

To complete the parallel, Stoicism, in some of its aspects, reflects the hopelessness and world-weariness which sees in modern progress only 'an endless advance by endless effort, and, if need be, by endless pain.' The same pessimistic tendency sees in evolution nothing but a long series of cycles of death and revival, of endless mutations in constant progression: 'Tout lasse, tout casse, tout passe, tout se refait.' Yet, in strange contradiction with this, there is the unalterable conviction too of a perfection in nature, of harmonious development according to law, and a wistful outlook towards the distant goal, not unlike the prophetic vision of Seneca:

'Venient annis secula seris,  
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum  
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,  
Tethysque novos detegat orbes,  
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.'



We note a similar contradiction in both the ancient Stoic conception of fate and modern fatalism—'Mérimée's characters are puppets at the mercy of fate'—between a pronounced insistence on the force of will and an uncompromising determinism. On the one hand, M. Aurelius says to himself, 'Put yourself frankly into the hands of fate'; on the other, 'If things are left to themselves and set adrift, do not thus float at random with them.' So the modern believer in 'the fatalism of physics,' seeing himself wire-netted in the 'ring of necessity,' the chain of causality, the force of impersonal law, 'irrevocable as fate,' speaks with Emerson of 'the right use of fate,' which 'is to bring up our conduct to the loftiness of nature.' He declares 'that the best use of fate is to teach a fatal courage'; 'that pure sympathy with universal ends is an infinite force, and cannot be bribed or bent'; that intellect annuls fate. As the ancient Stoic steeled his courage by a firm belief in moral 'tension' as part of the universal law of nature, so the modern Stoic has recourse to ethical kinetics in an age 'smitten with the malady of will.'

Some one has called Stoicism a luminous chapter in the history of theology, and Sir Thomas Browne held that the doctrine of the Stoics might pass for current divinity if delivered in the pulpit. So far as it can be called a theology, it is in full sympathy with Modernism in a larger sense, that is, as a belief in the divine immanence in the universe, and man, a return to simplicity in statement, and the preaching of an 'ethical gospel.' In short, Stoicism is a kind of vague Theism, a reverential disposition towards the deity as identified with nature. What was called by the ancient Stoics the 'seminal reason,' or 'universal source of all being,' the moderns call the Unknowable cause of the Cosmos as inseparable from it, 'the personified whole of things,' 'the God within,' or still more indeterminately, as 'the Eternal not ourselves, making for righteousness.' The feeling of veneration becomes 'cosmic emotion'; piety is exhibited in ethical fervour; religion in the end resolves itself into a scheme of moral obligation. Thus, as a French writer puts it, 'le matérialisme stoïcien' becomes 'le pantéisme moral.' In short, modern Stoicism establishes some kind of relation between the universe and human ideals, a kind of ethical

creed, 'la plus belle tentative d'École laïque de vertu que le monde ait connue jusqu'ici.'

The keystone of this Neo-Stoic creed, the paramount idea dominating it throughout, is its high sense of duty, an idea which the Stoics may be said to have first introduced into European ethics, and which has become since the parent of scientific deontology, having for its basis the identification of knowledge and virtue. Duty, the 'stern daughter of the voice of God,' is that which the modern poet of nature appeals to in order to calm 'the weary strife of frail humanity'; duty, that is, not imposed by authority from without, but the following-up of the rational impulse of the mind in harmony with the cosmic order, the framing of the individual life according to the 'conditions of social vitality.' It means the unreserved acknowledgment of the sovereignty of conscience—another term come down to us from the Stoics. It is the voice speaking within the man in unison with the conscience of mankind, counselling self-subjection as a means for attaining moral freedom—'only the wise are free'; dutiful self-determination to be one's own master as the highest conception of human dignity. Self-conquest becomes thus the summit of all heroism, which implies the self-sufficiency of virtue as the highest ideal of perfection, and the virtual possession of the highest good.

Happiness, in the sense of joyousness, consists in virtuous activity. 'He who is virtuous is wise, and he who is wise is good, and he who is good is happy,' is a saying quoted from Boëtius, 'the last of the Stoics,' in Lord Avebury's 'Pleasures of Life.' Some of our modern Stoics, less optimistic, are apt to agree rather with Sir Leslie Stephen when he says that 'the path of duty does *not* coincide with the path of happiness.' Their aim is simply a balanced state of mind, the exercise of self-restraint without asceticism, frugality without taking a morbid pleasure in misery, severe rectitude without inhuman indifference, independence of externals without insensibility, studied tranquillity as a safeguard against intellectual restlessness, a yearning for 'a repose that ever is the same,' and, above all, an utter contempt of those 'moral bugbears,' rewards and punishments here or hereafter. It is summed up in the saying of M. Aurelius ;

'Spend your brief moment then according to nature's law, and serenely greet the journey's end, as the olive falls when it is ripe, blessing the branch that bear it, and giving thanks to the tree which gave it life.'

But modern Stoicism is less inclined to stand alone, and has a deeper sense of human solidarity and altruistic duty as distinguished from public beneficence. It also has a higher conception of the dignity of labour, occupying an entirely different standpoint in consequence of the moral and social atmosphere created by the introduction of Christianity. It is, moreover, inclined to join modern pragmatism in placing the effort of providing for human needs and their satisfaction above the intellectual pursuit of truth for its own sake. The best man, in the opinion of Sir Leslie Stephen, is he who conforms to 'the type defined by the healthy condition of the Social organism.'

Here as elsewhere Stoicism challenges comparison with Christian ethics, and we proceed, therefore, to consider its relation to Christianity, and their respective claims as two moral agencies, sometimes found moving on parallel lines, and sometimes again diverging from each other.

The spurious correspondence of Paul and Seneca, and the bold attempt of a Christian writer in the days of Justinian to edit the 'Enchiridion' of Epictetus, as a manual of Christian morals, are indications of a spiritual affinity between the two in the past. St Jerome speaks of 'our Seneca'; and a Christian writer of the third century speaks of M. Aurelius as 'the great and good.' Calvin's first literary venture, his commentary on Seneca's treatise on clemency, is, perhaps, the first instance of articulated differentiation of the two systems, although the fatalism of the one and the determinism of the other are closely akin; and Geneva has even been called 'the spiritual city built up of Stoicism upon the rock of predestination.' Plutarch's lectures or moral theses probably differed in form rather than in substance from papers read at the meetings of our ethical societies; and Fleury, though unwilling to call Seneca a Christian in disguise, refers to his philosophy as Neo-Stoicism with an infusion of Christianity. Dr E. Caird, in his work on the evolution of theology, speaks of the Stoic philosophy as pro-

foundly influencing the course of religious thought in the early development of Christian doctrine.

But, if some of the most cultured Christian converts, like Justin and Augustine, have passed into the Church through the portals of the Stoic philosophy in the past, not a few of our modern thinkers have passed through the open door of the Church into the porch of Neo-Stoicism. If Stoicism, as 'the pagan creed of apostolic times,' fructified Christianity intellectually by the application of reason to religion, Neo-Stoicism owes not a little of its contents, its earnestness, and moral ardour, to the influence of early Christian nurture upon those who have turned to it in later life. In consequence of this, there are innumerable coincidences and also contrasts which make a comparison of the two systems desirable. Both systems, it is true, contain terms and phrases of similar import which owe their resemblance to a common source. Other resemblances are due to circumstances, such as the facts that Tarsus, the birthplace of St Paul, was a locality more especially subject to Stoic influences, and that Seneca, the brother of Gallio, could not have failed to come into contact with persons acquainted with some of the Christian writings. For instance, the expression, '*intelligo me non emendari tantum, sed transfigurari*,' may perhaps contain an allusion to the transfiguration. But the resemblances are by no means all equally dependent on personal accidents of this kind.

Matthew Arnold has shown that the peculiar charm pervading the meditations of M. Aurelius consists in their being 'suffused and softened by something of this very sentiment whence Christian morality draws its best power.' There is also a passage in Epictetus where he expresses the wish to be a nightingale, or a swan, to sing God's praises, which curiously reminds us of similar utterances of St Francis. Therefore, without multiplying instances unduly, we may yet be permitted to mention a few of the most striking coincidences and contrasts which go far to explain the mutual attraction and repulsion of Stoicism and Christianity, and so defining their relative position and taking the measure of their comparative influence on the course of European thought and life. In so doing we may feel about our modern Stoics what Erasmus is reported to have said about

Seneca: 'If you read him as a heathen, he wrote like a Christian; if you read him like a Christian, he wrote like a heathen.'

Our modern Stoics do not accept all the tenets of their spiritual ancestors any more than our modern Christians feel themselves invariably bound to accept literally all the religious formulæ that have come down to us from the past. Still, with all these modern modifications, we find that, in their main features, they have much in common. Both modern Stoics and modern Christians 'stand up against the great and tragical calamities of human life.' Both, in their writings, afford opportunities for the study of moral pathology, while their ideas of human degeneracy and their belief in the amelioration of the species have become considerably modified by the teaching of evolutionary science. Both profess some kind of *contemptus mundi*, a theoretic scorn for external benefits which, like Seneca, they do not invariably carry out in practice. Both make heavy demands on human nature to reach a higher level of perfection by the cultivation of self-denial and self-sacrifice, though, as M. Maeterlinck remarks, 'Sacrifice should never be the means of ennoblement, but only the sign of our being ennobled.'

Both endeavour to liberate piety, the communing of the soul with the world unseen in moments of spiritual abstraction, from the fetters of ceremonial or doctrinal observances, forming thus a junction as movements directed against what is mechanical in religion. Both alike give themselves largely to efforts for social improvement and tend to become more and more a 'propaganda of beneficence' rather than of faith, Stoic benevolence and Christian philanthropy joining forces by an adaptation of Seneca's principle to modern needs, 'Homo sacra res homini.' There is the same resemblance in their cosmopolitan aspiration to realise the panacea dreamt by Zeno of a commonwealth where all shall be as one fold under one shepherd, 'where men should not be separated by cities, states, and laws, but all should be considered as fellow-citizens, partakers of one life, and the whole world, like a united flock, should be governed by one common law.'

The contrasts are at once more numerous and more subtle. There is the primary antithesis between reason

and faith, a purely natural interpretation of the universe in the one case, and the supernatural theory of it in the other. Again, the Stoic ideal of humanity is completeness of character, that of Christianity is holiness. Here we have 'rational departure,' there 'the devout life'—the difference, in short, between sage and saint. The saint at times may lag behind the sage. La mère Angélique says in one of her letters:

'If we will not renounce that which we know to win the unknown—which, if one may so speak, is God Himself in His essence and not in His gifts—we are guilty of a sort of idolatry that will involve us in darkness as dense as though we were the prey of perpetual distractions.'

A modern Stoic, rising above the common aspirations of the mere sage, speaks of the sweetness of dutiful renouncement, though without the happy anticipation of ever discovering the unknown source of all things. On the other hand, Christian sympathy may far outstrip in its range and intensity that of the Neo-Stoic, though the latter is far from being insensible to human suffering. Even the ancient Stoics discriminated between a legitimate form of dispassionateness, and apathy, or insensibility. The modern Stoic, in the cultivation of *apatheia*, may approach, but cannot altogether attain to, that complete symmetry of sentiment between the human and divine which is peculiarly Christian and culminates in compassionate tenderness.

There is also a marked difference between the Stoic and Christian conception of fortitude. 'Be no coward!' exclaims the Stoic professor of the 'non-religion of the future' when the graceful author of 'The House of Quiet' speaks of 'the Stoic hardening of the heart' at the sight of powerful and triumphant evil inspired by a better hope in the religious potentialities of the future. There is a superabundance of resolute will-force in a modern Stoic which fully enables him to face the facts of life; but when Mr E. Gosse speaks of 'the spectacle of so blind a Roman firmness' as that displayed in his father's spiritual attitude, he gives us clearly to understand that this fortitude was sustained by a faith which nothing could shake. The all but ascetic austerity of Stoic fortitude, whether old or new, amounts to a determination to

maintain complete balance of mind against all odds; it rests on the creed of science, which differs little from the ancient belief in Fate, and is apt to become, in its rigid obedience to law and in its stern detachment from real life, 'faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null.' Christianity adds the touch of gentleness to force and so sweetens it, as in the case of even so austere a nature as the late Archbishop Temple, of whom it is related that when, as an octogenarian invalid, he attended service for the last time in his own cathedral, he determined to kneel down, though scarcely able by reason of physical infirmity to do so, and said to his chaplain who begged him to desist, 'No, I must; my mother taught me to do so,' thus in this act of simple piety illustrating in the most emphatic manner the peculiar charm of Christian as distinguished from unchristian Stoicism.

There is the same distinction between the idea of stoical self-conquest and Christian self-surrender. The latter is entirely free from the taint of self-assertion which detracts from the nobility of the former; it is the difference between excess of self-esteem—'I must be an emerald, and I must keep my colour,' says M. Aurelius—and reverent self-abasement. What F. W. H. Myers says of Stoicism in his essay on M. Aurelius is true still, that it 'prescribed the curbing and checking of those natural emotions which Christianity at once guided and intensified by her new ideal.'

Again, we may contrast the Stoic calm of forced self-repression, 'poised as a sphere self-orbed,' tenacious of the 'freehold of the mind,' and only yielding to the coercive force of destiny, with the attitude of cheerful acquiescence of the Christian in submission to the divine will. Dignity and composure predominate in the former. Madame Geoffrin, the friend of D'Alembert, we are told, was 'one who was always mistress of herself, temperate and calm; fitness and moderation were the constant study as they were the rule of her life.' There is no lack of deliberate and reasoned self-repression here, but it scarcely reaches the higher level of imperturbable serenity of mind of Christian resignation. As the Abbé Chollet remarks in the work mentioned above (p. 236):

'Si le stoïcien cherche le calme de l'intelligence, le chrétien poursuit la force de la volonté et la liberté du cœur. Se



détachant de la créature, il veut aimer son Dieu avec plus d'énergie, le servir plus entièrement et plus fidèlement.'

From this it follows that Stoicism, with a disposition to regard man as a self-sufficing unit, becomes aristocratic, whereas Christianity in its essential characteristics is democratic. Both have the regeneration of society at heart, but there is an air of cautious, if not contemptuous, condescension towards the vulgar in the attitude of the former, whilst an equalitarian fellow feeling, founded on the Christian principle of the brotherhood of man, distinguishes the latter.

As a system of ethical propagandism Stoicism is lacking in sympathy in dealing with the mass; it may excite admiration by its moral grandeur, but leaves the heart cold and so lacks motive force. What Bishop Creighton says on this point deserves consideration so far as our modern Stoics are concerned :

'M. Aurelius, M. Antoninus, and Julian were probably much more admirable men than the mass of contemporary bishops. They uttered nobler sentiments, they behaved in an exemplary manner; but there was no motive which they could communicate to others, no power which they could infuse into society. At the present day there are numbers of men like them; but "the least in the kingdom of heaven are greater than they." You say truly that they are not happy. They are working for results which they know they cannot obtain. More and more they grimly do their duty—both the sense of duty and the definition of its contents coming to them from Christianity. They have a horrible feeling of insecurity; for if they turned their scepticism against this sense of duty as they have done against Christianity, duty would go at once.' ('Life and Letters,' ii, 258.)

In the discussion of this matter there is the danger of forming an unfair estimate of either system on the score of religious bias. Thus the Port-Royalists, in their edition of Pascal's '*Entretien de Sacerdote*,' suppressed, as too favourable to Stoicism, the high encomium which, in the original unaltered dialogue, he bestows on Epictetus, '*J'ose dire qu'il mériterait d'être adoré*,' i.e. if only he had had humility. On the other hand, Prof. Chollet, in the work already referred to, points out how Positivists, in holding up Stoic morality to our admiration, pass over

in silence its illusions and failures, whilst at the same time emptying Christian morality of one of its principal characteristics, namely, the supernatural element, without which it is incomplete. We have endeavoured to do full justice to each without prejudice, and would only add here that, judging by results, and also bearing in mind that one of the chief elements of success, systematic organisation, is wanting in Stoicism, the superiority of Christianity would appear to us to consist in satisfying more completely the demands of the imagination and the heart in its appeal to the people at large. Stoicism only succeeds in making an impact on the fit and few; its operations are restricted to a limited area; it only reaches directly the aristocracy of intellect. Schopenhauer accounts for the same fact, with his characteristic severity, when he speaks of Stoicism personified as a stiff, wooden automaton in complete contradiction with real human nature, and therefore doomed to failure. He compares it with the teaching of Christ,

'that noble figure full of life, containing the greatest poetic truth and depth of meaning, standing before us in perfect virtue, holiness, and loftiness, though at the same time under conditions of the highest form of suffering.'

This naturally suggests the further consideration of modern Stoicism in relation to modern pessimism, or 'the ethics of pain.' Schopenhauer quotes a sentence from the last letter of Seneca, '*bonum tunc habebis tuum, quum intelliges infelicissimos esse felices*,' in confirmation of his own dismal theory of life. There are other passages in Seneca's writings of similar import, but these threnodies of ancient Stoicism find their explanation in the circumstances of the time, which gave a peculiarly gloomy tinge to the meditations of men of thought in the first century. The circumstances of the present day are different; still, we too have our disillusionings and disappointments, which find their expression in the literature of modern pessimism.

A French writer living in the time of the Terror tells us that before that event he was repelled by the gloomy tone of Seneca's writings, but that he began to read him with much relish, as affording comfort during the worst days of revolutionary tyranny. In the same way F. W. H.

Myers, in his essay on the disenchantment of France, written in 1888, quotes a passage from M. Bourget in which the latter refers to the class of *savants* whose stoical candour and personal virtue are beyond doubt, yet who express the utter hopelessness of science in its inability to answer the questionings of the mind, or to satisfy the cravings of the heart. He also points to M. Renan as a remarkable example of disenchanted optimism which can scarcely be distinguished from the pessimism of the ideologists, who, in the presence of the irresistible and irresponsible forces of nature, uncontrolled by a higher power, despair of finding a solution of the mystery of the universe. There are those, too, who see in the rise of a school of decadents the latest result of a grand but exhausted civilisation.

It may be that for this reason there is at present so large a demand for the meditations of M. Aurelius, which has called into existence several admirable translations of this unique soliloquy. Yet M. Aurelius, unlike our modern Stoics, despairs of the regeneration of average humanity because of the stolid indifference of the mass to those moral ideals to which he himself clings so tenaciously. Hence his lofty melancholy, which, indeed, is a characteristic of many noble minds, but is especially accentuated in this example of 'enthroned virtue.' But, while the Imperial Stoic can find his happiness in contentment of spirit, his modern successors, who do not share his ethical optimism, are at best meliorists who require activities as the result of speculation; so that with them the intellectual factor counts less than the practical effort to realise experimentally the higher life in man and society. To aim at rounding the headland amid the storms of life, 'to find calm, still waters, and a waveless bay,' is incompatible with the modern spirit. 'Calm's not life's crown'; the ancient Stoic's self-imposed imperturbable attitude of mind, the laboriously acquired serenity, a joyousness nearer to tears than smiles, has been replaced by a Stoicism which associates a mild cheerfulness with assiduous effort for the common good. James Spedding, in a letter to Donne, calls Edward Fitzgerald 'the prince of quietists,' and says that 'his tranquillity is like a pirated copy of the peace of God,' because it was not natural but acquired. Fitzgerald, indeed, was

not a professed Stoic, but his acquired tranquillity bears a curious resemblance to that of the Stoic and indicates the indirect influences of Stoicism on modern minds. Stoical tranquillity by itself scarcely satisfies idealists under modern conditions. They are more inclined to follow Landor, who wanted to walk with Lucretius on his right and Epictetus on his left, and said some years before his death :

‘I warmed both hands against the fire of life;  
It sinks, and I am ready to depart.’

In a somewhat different way George Meredith, in ‘A Reading of Earth,’ though not blind to the darker aspects of life and nature ‘at her grindstone set,’ reminds us that ‘the sharpened life commands its course,’

‘Through conquest of the inner beast,  
Which Measure tames to movement sane,  
In harmony with what is fair.’

In his stoical optimism, or joyous Stoicism, he speaks of ‘just reason based on valiant blood,’ and bids us step through life ‘firm in footing’ with ‘Fortitude quiet as earth’s at the shedding of leaves.’ Dwelling on the mysterious synthesis of Life and Death, he says in the grand ‘Hymn to Colour,’ which speaks of colour as ‘the Soul’s bridegroom,’ thus :

‘Death begs of Life his blush ; Life Death persuades  
To keep long day with his caresses graced.  
He is the heart of light, the wing of shades,  
The crown of beauty ; never soul embraced  
Of him can harbour unfaith ; soul of him  
Possessed walks never dim.’

Here, as in other modern Stoics, we see nothing of the *libido moriendi* of the old Stoicism, scarcely the resignation of their *decenter mori*, even though death be nothing but a dissolution into the elements and the future life nothing but a dream, as most of our modern Stoics assume. Still the final dismissal may be accepted with perfect composure though without eagerness. They are not afraid of final extinction, yet would say with Eléonore de Condé, ‘It is not for us to desert the garrison.’ Carlyle declined to commit suicide on these grounds. To give ‘the slip to life’ is no longer considered permissible ; but

still it behoves the actor to leave the stage with dignity when bidden to go down. Renan said to his wife, a few hours before his death :

'Be calm and resigned; we undergo the laws of nature of which we are a manifestation. We perish, we disappear, but heaven and earth remain, and the march of time goes on for ever.'

After all, if the modern Stoic no longer believes in personal survival, he still has the consoling thought of the endless continuity of noble thoughts, the persistent force of pure emotions, the posthumous immortality of noble deeds which link the living with the dead, the undying influences of those who have departed as a power felt if not seen by their survivors.

'We may comfort ourselves, if comfort be needed, by the reflection that, though the memory may be transitory, the good done by a noble life and character may last far beyond any horizon which can be realised by our imaginations.'

These were the last words of Sir Leslie Stephen in the essay on 'Forgotten Benefactors,' quoted at the end of his life by Maitland. Stephen was no Positivist; but this language cannot but suggest the doctrine of subjective immortality, which is part of the creed of Positivism. And to Positivism, as another modern manifestation of Stoicism, specially considered in its sociological aspects and in its scientific pretensions, we may now direct the reader's attention.

Here we may note the curious connexion between science and Stoicism from the very first. Thus Zeno anticipates modern philology in his five fragments of Homeric questions, and Seneca uses almost the same language as Kant in his contemplation of the starry heavens. On the other hand, Mr Frederic Harrison, the chief representative of Positivism in this country, speaks almost like an ancient Stoic when he says in his 'Creed of a Layman' that Positivism is 'the true relation of man to the universe in the relation proved by science,' and that 'the source and canon of man's duty is to be found in a true and full knowledge of human nature' (p. 241). At the same time, however, he tells us that stoic pantheism and nature-worship have no place in the

religion of humanity. It is 'human providence' that 'controls man's destiny on earth.' There is no room left here for 'the contingent remainder' of a 'Grand Peut-être'; humanity becomes the only object of worship. Accordingly, the hymn-book compiled by Mrs Harrison for public worship contains the following lines:

'In sorrow and humility,  
Great human heart we fly to thee,  
To gather comfort from thy store  
And strength and love to serve thee more.'

Disinterested morality becomes the whole duty of man; 'death ennobles, consummates, and gives a real, albeit a humble, sainthood to every true and worthy life.' Immortality consists in 'the indefinite persistence of human activity.'

From this it follows that self-development for social ends becomes the sole aim of existence, and the study of sociology the all-embracing subject of enquiry. The individual, as a constituent member of the social organism, lives *for* others so that he may live *in* others, and, as Comte puts it, 'life in all its thoughts as well as actions is brought under the inspiring charm of social affection.' Since civilisation is simply 'a constantly increasing co-ordination, consensus, and sympathy of the vast human organism, though it be indeed a subtler co-ordination, a more rational consensus, a more equable sympathy,' what is wanted is, as another Positivist puts it, 'the conscious cultivation, enlightened by science, of society as a whole.' At the same time Cotter Morrison,\* the writer here referred to, says in his 'Service of Man,' that some amount of congenital altruism there must be before this can be even attempted, and that, if we are wholly selfish, no teaching will persuade us to be heroic and self-sacrificing. Nevertheless, since we are made for co-operation, solidarity must be the principle of human conduct, and the training of social affections will form the chief end of any system of ethics founded on positive science. 'The main and essential condition of morality,'

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\* 'Mr Morrison's life,' says Lady Dorothy Nevill in her 'Reminiscences' (p. 273), 'was one at which not even the most stern religious bigot could cavil, for, though constantly oppressed by ill-health, he bore his lot with a stoicism—nay, a very contentment—which a Christian saint might envy.'

says Sir Leslie Stephen in his 'Science of Ethics' (p. 308), 'is the altruism which enables a man to appropriate the feelings of others, and so to acquire instincts with a reference to the social good.'

This, again, corresponds to the importance attached by the Roman Stoics to the organisation of the state and 'the humanisation of society by the rational development of law' as the primary condition of all moral progress. By this idea they rendered a conspicuous service to civilisation, as it contained the fruitful idea of a state governed by wisdom, resting, as Wordsworth puts it,

'On firm foundations, making social life,  
Through knowledge spreading and imperishable,  
As just in regulation and as pure  
As individual in the wise and good.'

Nor should it be forgotten in this connexion that our modern idea of the supremacy of law is a curious blend of the *jus naturale* of Roman Stoicism, resuscitated both in 'the law of Nature' of the French legists, and the 'Code de la Nature' of the revolutionary socialists, with the modern scientific idea of law, 'that nothing is that errs from law.' From this law of nature, and the *jus gentium*, the supposed law common to all nations, the Stoics and the Roman Jurisconsults after them, deduced the principles of equity and the humanitarian ideal of the equal rights of all men, which grew out of the stoical conception of the dignity of human nature conferring on all the rights, and imposing on all the duties, of cosmopolitan citizenship.\* Thus the description of 'the austere rule of living' in Mr Wells' 'Modern Utopia,' with its rigid coordination of human activities in order 'to produce the maximum cooperation of all men of good intent in a state of bodily health and efficiency,' represents not only, as he suggests, 'the Stoicism of the Bushido Cult,' but may be regarded as a reminiscence of European Stoicism with its ideal of universal citizenship, its noble conception of humanity as 'one great society alone on earth; the noble living and the noble dead.'

We may close our survey of the recent manifestations of Stoicism with a brief estimate of its merits and

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\* 'Ancient Law,' by Sir H. S. Maine, ch. iii, pp. 49-57.



demerits as one of the most important influences in contemporary life and thought. There have been at different times adverse critics who have ridiculed its pretensions, from Lucian down to Mommsen; and these have not been slow in drawing attention to its weak points as an exotic system of philosophy fit only for the select few. And it has never wanted its distinguished admirers, from Tacitus down to Lecky, who calls the Stoics the 'moral beacons of the civilised globe.' But even some of its avowed friends have reluctantly acknowledged that, though bracing in its effects, Stoicism is not exhilarating or even consolatory, but 'melancholy, circumscribed, and ineffectual.' Others have dwelt on its 'proud precision' and 'elated haughtiness' as offensive to modern sensitiveness, which shrinks from the self-sufficient tone of superiority it assumes. Others again, like Montesquieu, have compared it in its lofty aims to those Alpine flowers which bloom unseen on inaccessible heights far above the level of ordinary capacity. This straining after unattainable perfection by ethical aeronauts in their 'inverted austerity' and passionless indifference, it is asserted, can only attract a very small number of votaries with a natural predisposition to 'cloistered virtue,' but is utterly unsuitable for the work-a-day life of ordinary mortals.

It is impossible to deny this defect of soaring aloofness, but, at the same time, it must not be forgotten that, if not directly, yet mediately through the few influencing the many, its effects for good are incalculable, and that, regarded from this point of view, Neo-Stoicism counts as an important asset among the moral forces of our own day. By itself it may be incapable of remodelling human nature, that is, the nature of the plain man, just as neither M. Aurelius, 'the Saint of Agnosticism,' nor other high-souled men of the Stoic school of his day, could save the decaying Roman society of the second century. However, the parallel must not be pressed too far, since our modern Stoics are less stern, less impassive, less contemptuous of the ordinary foibles of humanity, less exacting and unsympathetic in their demands on human nature, and therefore more likely to succeed in their efforts in stimulating the laggards and steadying the irresolute in their struggle after the higher life.

These and other marked differences should not be overlooked in any fair estimate of the moral potentialities of Neo-Stoicism as one of the regenerating influences in modern society. The Stoic of to-day cannot be described as 'self-centred and unsocial.' 'A strong man has living blood in his veins, and shows his character, not by despising, still less in denying, his emotions, but in exalting them,' says one of them, though, it should be added, a Christian Stoic of the present day.

The God of ancient Stoicism was described as having neither head nor heart; 'le Dieu des savants' of the moderns, 'God the spirit of goodness, and truth, and beauty,' whose blessing is invoked by Haeckel at the close of his monistic creed, is not an unintelligent and unfeeling, though an unknown God; and whilst there is, no doubt, among Stoics a strong desire to escape from the supernatural, there is also a more friendly feeling towards Christianity, stripped of its dogmatic encumbrances, which brings modern Stoicism into unexpected proximity to modern Christianity. Thus, e.g., the author of 'Beside Still Waters' speaks 'of the grave, quiet, gracious life' of the matured man of culture, who has arrived at 'valuing sincerity, sympathy, simplicity, and candour above dogma and accumulated beliefs,' and who expresses gratitude for the balance, the serenity, that such a life has brought him.

Here and elsewhere we note a coalescence of the two systems in their latest developments. The modern Stoic is no longer a 'self-sufficing unit,' who lives in 'le sommet glacé,' the refrigerated atmosphere of ascetic self-restraint. The modernised Christian has ceased to be self-absorbed in the inwardness of his religious subjectivity, or in the effort of ceremonial self-externalisation. Both are apt to take for their motto, 'True piety is acting what one knows,' and by a careful cultivation of the social affections to cooperate in the common effort for raising and enlarging the life of every member of the human family.

But, it may be said, granted this to be the dominant principle of action among the few select spirits who form the aristocracy of intellect, there still remains the objection of Pascal that the Stoics 'concluent qu'on peut toujours ce qu'on peut quelquefois,' and further, that they forget that what is possible to the fit and few is

not possible to the mass of mankind. And, moreover, there is always the question, as far as the vast majority is concerned, why any one (in the absence of a recognised authority) should follow out the Stoic precept, 'abstine et sustine,' rather than yield to his own natural propensities?

The answer to this is that, though, as a philosophy of redemption, Stoicism *per se* may be inadequate, yet that concurrently, if not conjointly, with Christianity it may be of considerable use in forwarding what Browning calls 'the general plan.' For it provides excellent models of moral heroism, invigorating instances of moral efficiency, whilst Christianity adds ardour to tranquillity and supplies the enthusiasm inspired by the love of Christ as the motive force and sustaining power in those who try to follow its counsels of perfection. 'What does Christian law become without the sentiment of love, without the impulse of mercy, but a sort of moral Stoicism, rigid and severe?' says M. A. Sabatier. The question may be met by another: What would become of Stoicism with its proud reserve, its private rehearsals of self-scrutiny, and its frosty rigour in the performance of public duty, without the warm touch of religion, without the fuller influences of Christianity to melt and mellow its harder features? In its unflinching adherence to moral rectitude, in its uncompromising hardihood as a protest against unmanly selfishness and weak self-indulgence, in its generous idealism pitted against the ethical materialism of the day, Stoicism will prove the best antidote against all forms of emasculated religiosity. The world was in need of moral and religious reform when Roman Stoicism appeared on the scene. The intellectual exigencies of our own time stand in need of a similar force. In the growing tendency to separate morality from theology, at this moment when the lapse of religious faith or, at least, the loose adherence to uncertain creeds renders the basis of morality somewhat insecure, Stoicism in its modern form will afford a temporary resting-place to men and women with high moral aims but disturbed by intellectual perplexities. Thus Mr Algernon Cecil, in his 'Six Oxford Thinkers,' published recently, speaks of Lord Morley of Blackburn as having fallen back on a philosophy not

entirely different from Stoicism. 'With the gospel of uncertainty in his hand, he requires of all men a rigid, strenuous life. Behind stern, sad faces we are to conceal our doubting hearts' (p. 285). Others, again, who are struggling with intellectual difficulties, yet, at the same time, unwilling to abandon the essentials of the religion in which they were reared, and to which they are still attached, are in the position of the late J. Addington Symonds, who died with a little volume of prayers, originally given him by his mother, by his side, and who had placed on his tombstone the epitaph, consisting of his own translation of the following lines from the hymn of Cleanthes:

'Lead thou me, God, Law, Reason, Motion, Life!  
All names for Thee alike are vain and hollow.  
Lead me, for I will follow without strife,  
Or if I strive, still must I blindly follow!'

Such a conjunction of Neo-Stoicism and modern Christianity may eventually produce a union of opposites in the formation of character which will, on the one hand, prevent moral earnestness from degenerating into an 'apotheosis of human virtue,' and, on the other, tend to preserve the gentler virtues of Christianity from degenerating into religious sentimentalism. In their combined opposition to the invasion of moral laxity they may prove an irresistible force in counteracting the debilitating effects of an over-refined, self-indulgent Epicureanism, gradually relapsing into a kind of ostensibly self-depreciating, but in reality self-complacent decadence.

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## Art. 12.—REVOLUTION OR REFORM.

THE general election of 1910 has resulted in the assembling of a Parliament different from any of its recent predecessors. In 1895, 1900 and 1906 one coherent party obtained a majority—and a very large majority—of the whole House. Now no party has a majority. The Liberal party is greater than the Unionist only by two votes; and among its ranks it reckons Mr Gibson Bowles, who is in fact, as well as in name, an independent member. Should he vote on any occasion with the Unionists, the two parties would be absolutely equal. The Liberal Government is thus driven to rely upon the support of two parties whose main purposes do not entirely coincide with those of the Liberals, and who depend upon electoral support which is in some respects alien from Liberalism.

It may, indeed, be recalled that the Liberal party was even weaker in numbers in the Parliament that assembled in 1892. But its relations with the Irish party were less difficult than at present, for both were whole-heartedly united in favour of Home Rule, and Home Rule was indisputably the first question with which that Parliament had to deal. Nor were the Labour members in those days formally organised into a detached party, and obliged to justify their existence as such by at least an appearance of independent action. But the greatest difference of all between the situation in the present Parliament and that in the first year of the Parliament of 1892 is to be observed in the absence of Mr Gladstone. His commanding personality and unfaltering strength of purpose dominated and held together all the members, whether from Great Britain or Ireland, who supported his policy. Mr Asquith has many parliamentary talents; but his ascendancy even over the Liberal party is not assured, and he has but little personal influence either over the Labour or the Irish group. Nor does his influence seem to gather strength as time goes on. Whether through his own fault or that of his colleagues, his methods are ominously vacillating, and he has already deeply incurred the imputation—of all others perhaps the most fatal to a leader—that he yields unstably to the pressure of his nominal followers. The upshot is that,

although the Liberal party is more numerous in this Parliament than it was in that of 1892, the Liberal Government seems possessed of far less of the elements of a strong and durable administration.

And that party, though very much the largest section of the coalition that supports the Ministry, is also the least interesting. It suffers indeed from having been for four years a Ministerial party. In such a position, individual ability gets but little chance of display. All except the most vigorous and energetic natures tend to become discouraged and apathetic in their parliamentary life when their only opportunities are to speak on behalf of the party policy with less effect than their leaders and at the worst and least convenient times. This discouragement drives some members into an attitude of independence. It is less insipid to criticise than to praise; and the independent critic of his party is usually sure of an interested audience. That this general law of politics is operating on the Radical back benches there have been some signs since the opening of Parliament. Mr Belloc, Mr Wedgwood, and Sir Henry Dalziel have made speeches in the note of candid friends. For the rest, the appearance of the Radical ranks is dull and gloomy, as of a party not deeply interested and not sanguine of success. The contrast between the opening of this Parliament and that of the last is evidently appreciated by those Conservative members who sat in both. Then the Ministerial party, overpowering in numbers, were confident to the point of arrogance, and would scarcely accord a courteous hearing to their opponents. Now they seem out of heart and out of spirits, in striking contrast to the aggressive confidence which prevails among Unionists. The Labour party seem also to be suffering from a sense of discouragement; but it may be conjectured that the reasons for their depression are not altogether the same as in the case of the Radicals. They do indeed share in the anxieties of the whole Ministerial party in respect to tactics and policy; but they have besides some special griefs of their own. The truth is that the Labour members are in a false position. They claim with ostentation to be independent; and many of the objects they have in view are in fact different from those which could be accepted by moderate Liberals, and constitute a policy properly

called 'independent.' But though much of their policy is independent, the party itself could hardly afford to quarrel with its Liberal allies. A bitter struggle with Liberals all over the country would doubtless result in great loss on both sides; but it could hardly end otherwise than in the annihilation of three-fourths of the Labour party. It is true that they might recover from such a defeat, and in the end be stronger for having resolved to rely only on the support that their own and their policy's merits can obtain, and not on that which can be gained by bargaining with Liberalism. But at the outset most of their seats would fall.

It is natural to shrink from such a catastrophe, and accordingly the Labour party prefers the friendship of Liberalism to its enmity. But the friendship between a small party and a large one inevitably means that the smaller sinks into a dependent position. Nor do the Labour party show enough ability to play the part of the wing of a party with much effect. There are indeed in their ranks speakers of not inconsiderable power; but they cannot be said to have any orator of the first rank, or any personality which naturally dominates and leads. Nor have they shown much tactical dexterity in the manoeuvres they have so far attempted. The general effect has not been impressive; and it is probable that they will not much longer be able to put off the choice between insignificance in alliance with Liberalism and a temporary destruction at the hands of its hostility.

The Irish party finds itself, in the new Parliament, in a position to which it has long been unaccustomed. For the first time since the early years of the Parliament of 1895 there is a substantial split in the Nationalist ranks; and now the split is of a much more formidable character than it was in 1892 or 1895. Curiously, Mr Redmond is now in the position of the leader of the majority, and Mr O'Brien occupies Mr Redmond's old place as the leader of the minority in the Nationalist ranks. And Mr O'Brien seems both a stronger and more popular leader of insurgents than was Mr Redmond. No one who is not intimately acquainted with Ireland can pretend to judge how the contest between the two sections will terminate. But it certainly seems that the Independent Nationalists are growing in strength; and it can hardly



be doubted that it is the apprehension of their attack that makes Mr Redmond so uncertain and so uneasy as to what course he will adopt in respect to the ratification of last year's Budget. The strange spectacle is thus presented of Mr Asquith afraid of Mr Redmond, and Mr Redmond afraid of Mr O'Brien. But for Mr Redmond, Mr Asquith would certainly have begun by carrying the Budget ; but for Mr O'Brien, it is likely that Mr Redmond would have supported Mr Asquith in that course. This complication of instability has undoubtedly contributed much to the hesitations and vacillations of the Government and to its consequent discredit. But it may safely be laid down that no government which is entirely united within itself hesitates or vacillates in this disastrous way. The Cabinet, of course, keeps its secrets. But some signs of disagreement have been allowed to escape which confirm the voice of many rumours. Indeed the disagreements on the subject of the reform of the House of Lords are almost open. The language of Sir Edward Grey at the Eighty Club is scarcely to be reconciled with the course which the Government has in the end taken. And the language of Mr Haldane in introducing his army estimates seems to foreshadow that he does not intend himself long to remain a member of the Government. Other Ministers are reported to have been on the point of resigning. These signs and stories of disunion are the worst of all the omens that are against the Government. And they have been confirmed by the manner in which the Ministry have handled the difficulties of their situation. The King's Speech itself displayed in its confused language the perplexities and hesitations of the Ministers by whose advice it had been framed. It was very short, and besides the customary and formal references to the foreign and Imperial situation, referred to but little save the constitutional crisis. But in the brief reference to that crisis two phrases at once attracted notice. The speech ran :

'Proposals will be laid before you, with all convenient speed, to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament, so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over Finance, and its predominance in Legislation. These Measures, in the opinion of My advisers, should provide that this House should be so constituted and empowered as to

exercise impartially, in regard to proposed legislation, the functions of initiation, revision, and, subject to proper safeguards, of delay.'

It was immediately remarked that it was not usual for the Sovereign expressly to throw upon his advisers a responsibility which is, as a rule, taken for granted. It almost seemed as if he was anxious to take the opportunity to warn the public that he would not necessarily concur in all that his Ministers might advise in pursuance of their policy. Secondly, the clumsy and almost ungrammatical attempt to weld into one sentence a reference both to the powers and to the constitution of the House of Lords seemed to bear the marks of a half-adjusted quarrel in the Cabinet. Rumour was not tardy in adding that the uncouth insertion of the word 'constituted' was due to a threat of resignation by Sir Edward Grey. The debate on the Address followed, and the first stir was created by the explicit declaration of the Prime Minister that, when he spoke of 'safeguards' in the Albert Hall, he did not mean that he would, after the general election, ask the royal consent to the creation of peers in order, if need be, to overwhelm the judgment of the House of Lords, but only that he would promote legislation which would deprive that House of its veto. He went on to explain that the financial situation would require immediate attention; that the supplies required by law must be voted before March 31; that measures must be taken to make good the anticipated deficit in the revenue, and that for these purposes he must take the whole time of the House. Finally, he announced that both the Budget and the Resolutions relating to the House of Lords' Veto must be passed before any holiday more than a brief adjournment over Good Friday and Easter Monday could be permitted. The Budget was to be passed without alteration, except 'in some comparatively immaterial points, mainly matters of date.' He did not state expressly whether the Budget or the Lords' Resolutions were first to be entered upon, but appeared to imply that the Budget would take precedence. For he emphasised that before the Budget passed from the control of the House of Commons, that House should have an opportunity of 'expressing its opinions upon the main principles embodied in the Resolutions.' These

Resolutions, when passed, were not to be sent to the House of Lords, but a Bill was to be founded upon them which would embody their principles. The speech concluded with a few words, delivered in the manner of a quiet, strong man, full of reserve force, which Mr Asquith is accustomed to assume on critical occasions.

‘That’ (he said) ‘is the mode of procedure which, after much consideration, the Government have determined to recommend to the House. If the majority of the House are content with it, well and good; if not, well of course we must bow to their decision. . . . Speaking for myself and my colleagues, I can say with a clear conscience we have, in this matter, only two objects in view. The first is, as far as we are responsible for it, to carry on the King’s Government with credit and efficiency, and, on the other hand, to put an end at the earliest possible moment, by the wisest and most adequate methods we can devise, to the constitutional condition which enables a non-representative and irresponsible authority to thwart the purposes and mutilate the handiwork of the chosen exponents of the people’s will.’

We have set out the details of this speech at some length because of the striking contrast in many of its more important points between the Government’s subsequent action and this first formal declaration. Within a week the policy of the Government had undergone substantial modifications. In moving to take the time of the House up to Easter, Mr Asquith announced that the Veto Resolutions were to be submitted to the House of Lords without waiting for the formulation of a Bill; and it also became clear that the Budget was not to be entered upon until after the Veto Resolutions had passed the House of Commons. For the rest, the Prime Minister sketched the business that was to be taken before Easter, and a serious defect in the Government plan began to attract attention. The postponement of the Budget until a period considerably beyond Easter created a grave financial difficulty, and this difficulty the Government refused adequately to meet. They proposed indeed to borrow money to carry on the public service, but they made no plan for the collection of the revenue. It soon appeared that there would have been plenty of time before Easter to deal with the matter. The Government could easily have

found as much as a parliamentary week for the business of ways and means, and in that week they could have carried a temporary Bill authorising the collection of income tax and other non-contentious taxes until the complete Budget was dealt with. But this they declined to do on the alleged ground that it would increase the control of the House of Lords over finance. That the ordinary practice of uniting all the taxing proposals of the year in one Bill does restrict the powers of the Lords in respect to finance is quite true; but there would have been no departure from that practice by the passage of a temporary Bill which would have regulated the financial situation only for three or four months, and left unaffected the ordinary annual settlement of the revenue. In a series of debates that ensued at various opportunities, the necessity of giving proper authority to the collection of revenue was strongly pressed upon the Government by the Opposition. But Ministers remained obstinate. They would not even carry an income tax resolution which might afterwards be incorporated in their Budget, although by custom such a resolution would have enabled them to draw many millions into the Exchequer. The arguments put forward in defence of this strange obstinacy, such as that they lacked time, or that they could not divide the Resolutions of the Budget, or that a resolution which was not to be followed by a Bill would lack legal authority, were so manifestly insufficient that conjecture was active as to what could be the real reasons for the course taken. Probably they were two. Mr Redmond is supposed to have laid it down as an absolute condition of his support that the Budget should not be entered upon until the Veto Resolutions had been disposed of. And this rule seems to have been founded upon the theory that the non-adoption of the Budget gave a hold against the House of Lords. The Government have never assented to the doctrine that the Budget could be used as a weapon in the constitutional struggle, but they were probably obliged to defer to Mr Redmond's wishes. The second imputed motive for the strange neglect of Mr Asquith's own maxim, that the first object of Ministers must be to carry on the King's Government with credit and efficiency, was even less estimable. It was a design to

throw upon the House of Lords the blame for the financial confusion. In so far as this was their purpose they have certainly overreached themselves. Their excuses were altogether unconvincing, and the serious mischief that has resulted from the delay in collecting the revenue has, we believe, been generally and rightly laid at their door. A deficit of 26,000,000*l.* is the consequence of their management; and though this sum will no doubt be wholly, or almost wholly, recovered from the taxpayer, the interest of it is permanently lost. For the Government have been in the absurd position of being constrained to borrow money to carry on the public service while great sums were owed to them in respect of taxation which it needed only a formal resolution of the House of Commons to bring into their exchequer.

While the mischiefs of the Government's methods in finance were becoming every day more and more clear, it was apparent that incessant negotiations were going on to adjust the difficulties that existed between them and various sections of their supporters. It is of course impossible to know exactly what has passed. But three points seem to have been the topic of these negotiations. First, was the Government to include the reform of the House of Lords as well as the restriction of its powers among their resolutions? Secondly, was the Budget to be passed into law before the House of Lords came to a decision on the proposal to restrict its veto? Thirdly, what is to happen when, as is anticipated, the House of Lords do reject that proposal? On only one of these issues is the decision at the time we write yet known. The reformers of the House of Lords, though led by Sir Edward Grey, have been completely defeated. No mention of reform appears in the Government's Resolutions, and the debate that has taken place makes it clear that so large a proportion of the Ministerial coalition are firmly opposed to reform that there is no prospect that the Liberal party will ever succeed in carrying it. Some surprise has been felt and expressed that in the circumstances men of the character and talent of Sir Edward Grey and Mr Haldane should remain in the Cabinet. But in truth their position is a weak, because a false, one. The policy of reform is essentially inconsistent with the policy of the limitation of the Veto. The policy of reform contemplates the

creation of a Second Chamber which should enjoy the full confidence of the whole country, of Liberals as well as Conservatives. It is manifest that if such a Chamber were brought into being it could not be the dummy that the abolition of the Veto would make the House of Lords. Naturally and rightly, therefore, those who wish for a single-chamber system or, failing that, are willing to accept a dummy Second Chamber, are obstinately opposed to reform. And the moment Sir Edward Grey consented to the policy of the limitation of the Veto he put an end to any prospect of effectual reform by the Liberal party. For, once the Veto is dead, the single-chamber men will never consent to a reform which would bring it to life again. Lord Rosebery, in the House of Lords, had no difficulty in exposing the utter absurdity of the position of Liberal reformers. They were, he said, going first to hamstring their horse, and then enter it for the Derby. And this figure is not too strong to illustrate the position of Sir Edward Grey. He seems unable to face the fact that the destruction of the Veto is really the destruction of all the legislative authority of the Second Chamber; and that to reform an assembly which has no powers is absurd and self-contradictory. Reform implies public confidence, and public confidence implies power. The policy of reforming the Second Chamber is the policy of having a strong Second Chamber. The policy of restricting the Veto is the policy of having a weak Second Chamber, or rather of having no Second Chamber at all. Sir Edward Grey has placed himself in a futile and ignominious position, like every one else who attempts to achieve contradictory objects. Nothing is more pregnant of failure and humiliation than to attempt to make the same thing both black and white.

The position of the Budget remains in doubt at the time at which we write. Mr Redmond declared at Tipperary that he would support the Budget, but only on conditions which appear to amount to three in number. First, the final third reading stage of the Budget must not be disposed of until the Lords' decision on the Veto Resolutions shall be known. Secondly, the Government must pledge themselves to ask the King either to consent to create peers in sufficient numbers to overcome the resistance of the House of Lords, immediately on the

rejection of the Veto Resolutions, or else to promise to make such a creation if the result of another general election is favourable to the Government. Thirdly, that substantial concessions should be made in the terms of the Budget itself in the interests of the Irish taxpayers. As far as at present it is possible to judge, it would appear that the Government are disposed to concede the third of Mr Redmond's terms, and possibly the second, but are reluctant to yield the first. Indeed their language clearly points to passing the Budget through the House of Commons before the Lords can have time to pronounce upon the Veto Resolutions. Whether in the upshot Mr Redmond will rigorously adhere to his position is doubtful. The best opinion appears to be that the dispute will somehow or another be adjusted, and the Budget passed. The whole episode, however, clearly shows that whatever may happen to the Lords, the modifications that have recently taken place in the working of the Constitution have gone far to diminish the power and importance of the House of Commons. The fate of the Budget manifestly depends, not on what may be said in debate on the floor of the House, not on the convictions of the members of the House as to the merits of the Budget, but on how far private colloquies and negotiations can persuade a majority of the House, by arguments which have nothing to do with the merits of the Budget, to give it their approval. The real debate is now, not between orators addressing the Speaker's chair in the presence of the whole House of Commons, and indirectly of the whole country, but between three or four negotiators whose conversations are private and unreported, and who may use any argument that they think useful without regard to the opinion of the House of Commons or of the country. There is something singular in this object-lesson of the mechanism of the First Chamber at the very moment when it is proposed to restrict the powers of the Second. It would hardly be possible to imagine an illustration of the working of the House of Commons which more vividly shows the dangers of single-chamber Government. Here we have a financial proposal of the highest importance. No one disputes that, purely on its merits, it does not commend itself to a majority of the House of Commons. Yet its passage into law is possible and even



likely, not by reason of any persuasiveness of its advocates in public debate, but because of their skill in using the bait of Home Rule to procure the votes of Irish opponents whose constituents altogether disapprove of the new taxes proposed. Manifestly if the Budget passes, it will pass, not in virtue of popular sanction, nor in virtue of the free consent of the representatives of the people, but because a majority has been coaxed together by irrelevant considerations which differ from bribes in their freedom from a corrupt character, but not in their power of inducing members of Parliament to suppress their true convictions. A system of government under which this can be done cannot be regarded as democratic. The Government does not depend upon the people; it depends on that adjustment of partisan and sectional considerations which is called log-rolling.

It is an interesting question how far, in the light of current events, the House of Lords may claim to be justified in their rejection of the Budget last December. Of the constitutional propriety of that rejection there seems little ground for doubting. The Ministry and their supporters do indeed continue to affirm that the House of Lords cannot constitutionally reject a Finance Bill; but this contention is more nearly destitute of any valid authority even than most partisan arguments. The Journals of the two Houses of Parliament, which alone in such a question can claim to be authoritative, contain no resolution condemning the Lords for rejecting, as distinct from initiating or amending, a Money Bill. Nor does an appeal to the authority of statesmen in the past, whatever may be thought of the value of their authority, change the case. The preponderating weight of witness in favour of the right of the Lords to reject is positively overwhelming. And it is urged that if the exertion of the Lords' constitutional powers in respect to Money Bills is ever to be justified, it must be in respect to a new proposal which, by the confession, or rather by the boast, of its authors, is the initiation of a great scheme of social change. Here would seem to be a case, if ever there was one, where an appeal to the people was required. Nor can it be said that the appeal has been unsuccessful. It has long been, and still is, doubtful whether the Budget will pass at all; and it seems most probable that if it

passes at all it will be with some substantial amendments. This seems to make a very strong case for the rejection. But the constitutional propriety of an action is one thing, its wisdom is another. It may perhaps be doubted whether the interests of the stability of property and the safety of the Constitution would not have been better consulted by the passage rather than the rejection of the Budget last December. Whatever may be the result of the present controversy, it is impossible not to regret the violent disturbance of the very foundations of the Constitution in which it has resulted. The tranquillity in respect to political fundamentals, which five or six years ago was a striking phenomenon in English politics, has been lost and may not be recovered for many years. The reform of the Constitution of the House of Lords, the determination of the limits of its powers, are problems more easily raised than solved, and will no doubt occupy public attention for years to come. At the same time a large section of the Liberal party, which seems likely to sway the counsels of the whole, are becoming more and more committed to an attitude of hostility to property, especially landed property, and to a policy directed towards levelling down inequalities of wealth. Had the Lords passed the Budget the constitutional issues would have been avoided, or at least postponed for some years; and in the sharp reaction that would almost certainly have ensued on a few months' experience of the Budget, its harsher features might have been modified and the dangerous doctrine of taxing wealth according to its origin definitely repudiated and disallowed. Against this must be set the possibility that the Budget might be destroyed in the present Parliament. The balance of advantage is not easily weighed; but upon the whole we incline to the opinion that, though the Lords had every right to reject the Budget, it is a right they would have been more judicious not to exercise.

But this question belongs to the region of history. Politicians have now to deal with the situation as it is. The proposal put forward by the Ministry is to destroy the power of the Second Chamber over finance, and to limit its control over ordinary legislation to the right of requiring the House of Commons to adopt a Bill in three successive sessions. Such a proposal leaves no effectual

authority to the House of Lords. The most far-reaching legislative changes can be embodied in Bills for levying taxes or appropriating supplies. Land might be nationalised by appropriating a certain quantity of money to buy land for the State, and imposing penal taxation on those who refuse to sell. By similar methods railways or any of the means of production might be acquired by the nation. None of these extreme courses are very likely to be taken at one step. But if the whole of the value of land, or of railways, or of any other form of property may be acquired by the State through taxation and appropriation, it is manifest that a part of the value can be not less easily impounded. The functions of the State may be extended at the expense of the rights of individuals to any degree which may suit the claims of the majority of the House of Commons for the time being. This can be done merely by using the financial powers of the House of Commons, which, under the Government plan, are to be subjected to no check whatever. But the checks on general legislation are only a little less alarmingly insufficient. A Bill must pass the House of Commons in three sessions, and the whole process must take two years before the House of Commons can override the House of Lords. But any one who has watched the proceedings of the House of Commons in recent years knows very well that, as soon as a question has become one of acute party conflict, the independence of the House of Commons is at an end. The second and third considerations of Bills would be mere matters of form. At the beginning of each session of a parliament after the first, all the Bills that had been sent up to the House of Lords and had failed to pass would be rapidly and formally assented to without any reality of discussion. This is actually what was done in respect to the two Scottish Bills which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman insisted on passing a second time through the House of Commons after they had failed in the Lords. The readiness of the Government to propose guillotine resolutions to the House of Commons plainly shows how very subordinate the rights of that House are to the party interests of its majority. It is quite safe to say that no consideration for the freedom of debate or reality of deliberation in the House of Commons would be allowed to weigh for

a moment against any important point in the party game. Nor, as existing events make abundantly clear, is it at all necessary that the whole of the Ministerial party should be convinced of the propriety of any such measure. If an active section are ardently in favour of a particular Bill, they can easily compel their more languid colleagues to acquiesce in it by threatening to withdraw their support from the Government which is at once the creature and the master of the whole party. To say, therefore, that the Ministry's proposals establish single-chamber government is to understate the case. A process has been going on for years by which the real authority of the House of Commons has been transferred to the Cabinet and to the party which forms the majority of that House. This process has proceeded with accelerated speed as time has passed, and under the present Government it has gone so far as to leave little more to the House of Commons than two functions. First, the House is still the legal mechanism by which sections of the party majority make their will effective; for of course the threat which gives power to this group of members or to that in the controversies that take place within the precincts of the dominant party, is always that the Government will be displaced by a hostile vote in the House of Commons. This function will, doubtless, always remain to the House. But it may become as purely mechanical as the function of the American College of Electors in electing the President. Even now we see that the decisions of the House of Commons are completely discounted the moment the opinion of the Irish party, of the Labour party, or of the discontented Liberals is known. When the debate on the Budget opens the only anxiety will be to know what has already been decided by Mr Redmond and his friends. The actual proceedings of the House of Commons will be only of formal importance; the real decision will already have been made. The second function that remains to the House of Commons is that of a forum for public discussion, by which the mind of the electorate can be instructed and enlightened. This function it shares with the House of Lords; but unhappily, unlike the House of Lords, it exercises it with ever less and less freedom. The restrictions on debate, which were origin-

ally designed merely as a protection against obstruction, are now with little dissembling used for purposes of party advantage, or even for mere convenience. If prolonged discussion is likely to do a Government harm, if it is likely even to keep Ministers away from a holiday which they want, that is quite a good enough reason for curtailing debate by a guillotine resolution. What we are therefore faced by in the Government's attack on the House of Lords is the destruction of the last effectual barrier in the way of the absolute authority of the Cabinet and of the party which supports it. The House of Commons has been slowly losing its power of resistance to that authority until no more than is negligible remains. But hitherto a Liberal Cabinet and a Liberal Government has had to face the much more formidable opposition of the House of Lords.

It is admittedly this very circumstance, that the House of Lords is a serious obstacle which can often hinder the Liberal party from getting its own way, that is the foundation of the case for abolishing the Lords' Veto. Over and over again it is said by Liberal speakers that their party is not fairly treated because the Lords hinder them and do not hinder the Conservatives. It may at once be admitted that the Constitution at present affords only dangerously slight checks on any Ministry, and that those checks are almost non-existent when the Ministry is Conservative. But it is necessary to remember that a Conservative Government and party, by its inherent character of conservatism, stands less in need of restraint than do their Radical opponents. Conservatism and Radicalism are not mere names. They express different human tendencies, the one towards preserving what exists, which sometimes lapses into mere sluggish inaction; the other to seeking improvement in change, which sometimes lapses into reckless, unjust, or destructive revolutions. Plainly, the latter temperament is the one that stands most in need of check. This would be, perhaps, a sufficient answer if Conservatism were always conservative. But, though the Conservative party is in the main really averse from change as change, there are within its ranks movements of opinion which are not, in the true sense of the word, conservative at all. These currents of feeling at present run in the direction of Tariff Reform,

But there is no reason to think that their activity will necessarily be limited to tariff questions. Many speakers and writers who are advocating the Unionist cause are also prominent in urging extensive changes in the region of land-laws and poor-laws and unemployment. Doubtless many weighty arguments may be used for these schemes, as for Tariff Reform itself. But we cannot reasonably deny that they are not, in the strict sense of the word, conservative. And the circumstance that influential sections of the Unionist party are advocating change, gives some force to the Radical complaint that the Second Chamber checks Radical Governments, but does not check Unionist.

It is clear, however, that it is worse than no remedy for this evil to remove the checks on Radicalism. Put it as high as you please, the Conservative zeal for changes falls far short of that which is found in the Radical party. To leave the whole institutions of the country, every scrap of property, and every right of personal liberty, at the disposal of a modern Radical party, acting under the propulsion of an Irish or Labour group, resembles rather a nightmare than a sober political programme. The remedy for the faults which may reasonably be found in the Constitution as it now is, is not the diminution but the increase of checks on the authority of the Cabinet and its attendant party. We are already much too near the absolutism of the Cabinet and its caucuses to be pleasant. What ought to be done is first to reform and strengthen the Second Chamber so as to make it a more efficient check if possible on both parties, and then to restore the independence of the First Chamber so that it may no longer be merely the docile instrument of the party which holds the majority within its walls.

These objects are widely approved; but the difficulties that lie in the way of attaining them have not as yet been overcome. These difficulties arise mainly from the circumstance that the question of constitutional reform has been rapidly thrust to the forefront of political controversy, and that, so far, politicians have rather had an opportunity for excited dispute than for sober reflection. Consequently many schemes are put forward; every one has his own plan, and no one is prepared to subordinate his own views to his neighbour's.

This is true both in respect to the House of Lords and the House of Commons ; but it is especially obvious in the debates about the House of Lords. A great variety of plans have been suggested. Some people, like Sir Edward Grey and Mr Haldane, want to create an elected Senate. Others, like Lord Rosebery, want to strengthen the House of Lords by applying to it the principle of selection from among its members, and by reinforcing the selected Lords of Parliament by others chosen from outside, or sitting in virtue of their tenure of some office or qualification held by them. Another set of reformers would prefer the principle of nomination for life by the Crown on the advice of its Ministers. Yet another more conservative body of opinion desire only to exclude unworthy members from the existing House, and to strengthen it by the addition of life peers. And these are only the main divisions of opinion. Every kind of variety of view may be found as to matters of detail in which the changes are rung on the principles of election and selection, nomination and heredity. This multiplicity of schemes of reform is a hindrance to rapid progress on behalf of any particular plan. The strength of the reformers is destroyed by division, and an opportunity the more is given to those who are opposed to reform altogether because they wish to destroy either the existence or the powers of the Second Chamber. What is wanted is leisure for discussion and reflection, so that the reformers may close their ranks and agree among themselves on a plan which will secure their unanimous support. Pending such opportunity, it will be wisest for all sorts of reformers to recognise that any scheme of reform of the Second Chamber is better than the alternative plan of destroying its powers. By such a recognition a provisional union may be effected, and the whole strength of the reformers directed to resist the proposals of the Government.

The situation in respect to reforming the House of Commons is different, but not wholly different. There is a very widespread consensus of opinion that the existing condition of the House is not satisfactory ; that the party system has grown dangerously strong and is still growing to a power yet more dangerous ; that the proceedings of the House, through the combined action of obstruction and closure, are very far from the ideal of a deliberative



assembly; that the 'swing of the pendulum' and the consequent disproportion of majorities go far to destroy the true representative character of the Commons' House, and to deprive it of that moral authority without which its legal prerogatives are of little value. All these propositions are accepted by many people on both sides of politics. But, as in the case of the House of Lords, time is still wanted to think out a remedy. A good many people are inclined to some plan for securing a more proportional representation; but their inclination has not yet hardened into a conviction, still less into a motive for active propaganda. While the mischiefs that exist in the existing state of the House of Commons are patent and undeniable, there is a natural apprehension lest, in embarking hastily upon a supposed cure, other and perhaps worse evils might be induced. To strengthen the independence of individual members, to weaken the rigour of the party system, to diminish the size of party majorities, would have some good results, but might also have some bad. The restoration of the House to something more resembling its freedom of deliberation in the palmy days of Sir Robert Peel or Mr Gladstone might be purchased too dearly if, by the same process, the whole executive administration of the Empire was weakened, and for the strong, if partisan administrations of our time, a series of feeble and transient Ministries were substituted. Accordingly, in respect to the reform of the Commons, as of the Lords, there is rather an agreement that something ought to be done, than a clear vision of what that something ought to be.

Reformers will best make progress by fixing their minds on the root of the mischief. Plainly, the evil under which both Houses are suffering is fundamentally the exaggeration of party feeling. What is the real grievance of which Liberals complain in the House of Lords? It is its partisanship. The Liberal party do not find the House of Lords intolerable because it is an hereditary chamber, although that may be one of the grounds they allege upon the platform. They find it intolerable because they think that it is the obedient instrument in the hand of their political opponents. If the House of Lords continued purely hereditary, but yet sometimes voted for the Liberal and against the Conservative party,

its hereditary character would occasion little disturbance. No reform, therefore, will remove the present tension which does not give us a Second Chamber in which both parties will have a more nearly equal chance than in the present House of Lords. Similarly, all the weaknesses and difficulties of the House of Commons may easily be traced to the fact that its members habitually and unhesitatingly prefer the interest of their party to the good working of the House or to almost any of their own political convictions. We say 'almost any' for there is, of course, an element of independence still in the House of Commons which becomes prominent when great questions are raised about which members still care sufficiently to make them occasions for a quarrel with their party. But the House of Commons itself, and the proper conduct of its proceedings, are beyond doubt invariably subordinated to party interest. Accordingly, we have obstruction in all its forms on the one side, and the restriction of free discussion by various machineries on the other. We have, too, the decline of any effort to persuade the members of the House of Commons to a decision by public debate. Debates are now directed either to delay the proceedings of the House, or, if to persuasion, to the persuasion of those outside the House. The activity of members is more and more devoted to carrying their party with them, conscious that when that preliminary stage is achieved, the whole body will unite to force on the House of Commons the conclusion at which the majority of the dominant party have arrived. More and more the House of Commons becomes the instrument of party; more and more it loses general public confidence for the same reason that the House of Lords has lost the confidence of Liberals. Both our Houses suffer because they lack a sufficient measure of independence from party influences. And when the party prejudices of the two Houses are mutually opposed, the friction between the two becomes as serious and disturbing as we have known it to be in the last four years.

This is not to say that the party system ought to be abolished, or that without its help it would be possible to conduct parliamentary government. Unquestionably the party system, and even the two-party system, is indis-

pensable to parliamentary government as it has existed in our country for much more than a hundred years. What is needed is not the abolition of the party system, but a certain diminution in the power and rigidity of party. This is needed in both Houses; and in both Houses can be attained only in two ways. The first is the reduction of the size of party majorities. The second is the preservation or restoration of a moderate degree of independence among the members of both Houses. If these be clearly recognised to be the objects in view, the path of reform is to a great extent made clear. In the case of the Lords, the merits of any plan depending on election or selection or nomination, or on all these principles mixed together, is at once brought to a test. How far will it make for a fair balance of parties; how far will it safeguard the independence of individual members of the Upper House? It will be no use introducing the elective principle unless we can be sure of two things; that it will operate in favour of equalising parties, and that it will not imply the introduction of that influence of the caucus which has done so much to injure the independence of the House of Commons. It will be no use selecting from among the peerage if the only result is to get a body of very able but very uncompromising partisans who will be less disposed than ever to make concessions to the House of Commons. We must carefully frame our scheme of reform so as to secure that the final voice in the Upper Chamber will be in the hands of no obstinate majority, but of a majority which depends on the cooperation of its more moderate and independent members.

The like considerations seem to point, in the case of the Commons, to establishing proportional representation. But here, as already stated, we have to meet a weighty objection. How can the strength of party majorities be diminished, and their authority be made to depend on securing the support of moderate and independent men, without dangerously weakening the executive government? The answer is that the influences that make for the cohesion of parties are so strong that it is very unlikely that independence will ever become sufficiently common easily to jeopardise the existence even of a small majority. Doubtless it would be necessary, if we once

got rid of the mammoth majorities of our time, and reverted to a proportion of parties such as prevailed in the fifties and sixties, to abandon the convention that a government must always and in every question have a majority. The older and sounder doctrine was that a government need only have a majority on questions of such importance as to be deemed questions implying the confidence of the House in the administration. Small Ministerial defeats are really only mischievous because of the conventional importance that has come to be attached to them. It would be quite enough for all purposes of good government if the administration could command the support of the House of Commons in pitched battles. And such support could be obtained, as it used to be obtained in the days of Lord Palmerston, through a majority which on paper is a small one. From 1859 to 1865 Lord Palmerston held office with a majority nominally no more than eighteen. But there is no reason to think that his Government was made weak, and it certainly was not made unstable, by that narrow superiority. And with the reduction of majorities, and the presence of some leaven of independence, all the evils from which the House of Commons now suffers would diminish, if they did not disappear. For in debate it would at once become better worth while to persuade than to obstruct, and more important to conciliate moderate men than to press on the full demands of extreme partisans by restriction of discussion. Obstruction and the guillotine would go out of fashion together, and the House of Commons would again become, what it has now ceased to be, a real deliberative assembly.

Nor is there any reason to anticipate that the two Houses, so reformed, would find it difficult to work together, for in each House the last word would really depend, not on the opinion of extreme partisans, but on that of persons who, though attached to one party or the other, would be of sober temperament, open to persuasion, indisposed to extremities. Assemblies so dominated would generally come to a compromise without much friction. What leads to the present dislocation between the two Houses is that in each House the party which holds a majority is disposed to play the party game rather than to work the Constitution smoothly. Smaller majorities,

partly constituted by men of independent judgment, would use the legal prerogatives of either House in a more conciliatory spirit, and to a more serene issue.

But we are wandering into the region of abstract discussion far from the emergencies of the present situation. The immediate duty of every patriotic citizen is to guard the Second Chamber against the attack that threatens it, and to stand for the cause of reform as against that of revolution. It is to this broadly outlined policy that the Unionist party is committed. They have not yet identified themselves with any particular schemes of reform that individuals have put forward. But they stand clearly for the reform, as against the alternative policy of restricting the powers, of the Upper House. It is upon this issue that the next election will be fought. How exactly the battle will begin is still doubtful. Sometimes it is thought that the Irish will reject the Budget and so bring the present Government to a premature end. Some prophets again declare that the Government will go to the Crown and demand permission to create sufficient peers to carry their Veto proposals so soon as the House of Lords has dissented from them. Other prophets, not less confident, are certain that Mr Asquith will never risk the unpopularity of an attack upon the Throne, but will try a second dissolution in the hope that, if successful, he may, without dispute, secure from the King the needed promise of the exercise of the prerogative. Extreme Radical writers and speakers are vehement that the dissolution should not be allowed to take place until the promise from the Crown has been asked for and refused. Calmer critics may think that, whatever other tactics may be good, it cannot be otherwise than madness for the Liberal party to place themselves in hostility to the King. But however these controversies are decided, the main issue will be between those who accept the policy of reforming the House of Lords and those who are in favour of destroying its powers. And on the side of reform will be the whole strength of those influences in our country which may be reckoned conservative.

The decision at the general election will further be complicated by the presence, if only in the background of the stage, of the fiscal controversy. In part this

circumstance will make for the advantage of Unionists. Whatever may be thought of the abstract merits of the proposal to tax manufactured goods, its popularity is hardly open to question. But unhappily the same thing cannot be said of the proposal to tax corn and meat. On the contrary, the taxation of food is as certainly unpopular as the taxation of manufactured goods is popular. Many people are therefore urging that the Unionist leaders would be wise to imitate the tactics of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1906 in respect to Home Rule, and give a promise that during the course of the next Parliament no tax on corn or meat should be proposed. It is not, of course, suggested that the Unionist leaders should change, or pretend to change, their minds on the main question of policy involved. But it is thought that to postpone one part of the policy of Tariff Reform would do no harm to that policy generally and would remove from the backs of Unionist candidates a heavy and perhaps a crushing burden. Certainly it behoves the Unionist party to bear in mind the solemn responsibility that has fallen upon them. The Constitution, if destroyed, cannot be restored to its old stability. The immense advantage which this country, almost or quite alone among the nations of the world, has possessed, of a Constitution historically developed and not artificially manufactured, will be gone. Henceforth constitutional revision will be with us as it has been with others, a commonplace of political controversy. We shall have lost the peace and the security that once was ours. If, then, by a temporary postponement of a part of their policy of Tariff Reform, the Unionist leaders could gain a victory in this great conflict, and so maintain the stability of the Constitution, they will be greatly to blame if motives of pride or temper or personal dignity are allowed to hinder them from following the path of prudence. If the country is converted to the main principles of Tariff Reform, sooner or later it will be possible to carry the policy in its entirety. But by pressing the most unpopular side of Tariff Reform we imperil all parts of the Unionist programme. If we combine together the defence of the Constitution and the taxation of food, we may well fail in both objects and be left with our Constitution destroyed and our fiscal system still unchanged.

## POSTSCRIPT.

This article was already in type when Mr Asquith, on the 14th of April, made the momentous announcement which has removed several of the problems discussed in the previous pages from the region of speculation into that of fact. The Prime Minister has publicly promised that, if the Lords decline to accept the Resolutions he has carried in the House of Commons, he will ask the King's consent to the creation of the four or five hundred peers necessary to force the policy embodied in those Resolutions through the Upper House. No secret is made of the reason for this humiliating reversal of the principles described by the same Mr Asquith on the first day of the session as those which ought to actuate a First Minister of the Crown. Mr Redmond was inexorable. He had the power, and he convinced Mr Asquith, at any rate, that he meant to use it. Against that no publicly proclaimed principles, no sense of personal dignity, no feeling, such as would have so strongly influenced Mr Gladstone, of the Minister's duty to shield the Sovereign from controversy, have been allowed to stand in the way. There seems no doubt that, if Mr Asquith has sacrificed political consistency, personal honour, and the old traditions of loyalty which made Ministers the devoted guardians of the august impartiality of the Crown, he has at least gained Mr Redmond. The prophets whom we mentioned above as confident that Mr Asquith would not risk the unpopularity of bringing the Throne into a party dispute, have proved wrong; and the extreme Radicals have, as usual, proved right, because they added to prophecy the more potent weapon of pressure.

The Budget, it seems certain, will now pass. And, as no one thinks it likely either that the Lords will accept the Resolutions of the Government, or that the King will feel able to accede to the demand for the creation of peers, interest will pass from the barren discussions accompanying the passage into law of a bought Budget to the dissolution which must lie in the very near future. Whether it be Mr Asquith or Mr Balfour who actually takes the Ministerial responsibility of advising it, it seems now quite inevitable. What will its result be? To begin with Ireland, nobody supposes that the Budget has gained



in popularity there since January. Mr Redmond has, no doubt, extorted a humiliatingly high price from Mr Asquith; but, weak as Mr Asquith has shown himself, he has got something too; and is it not possible that Ireland may think the acceptance of the actual and present Budget a high price to pay for the vision of a very problematic Home Rule? Is it certain that the future may not have its humiliations in store for Mr Redmond also? And if Mr O'Brien gains ground in Ireland at the expense of Mr Redmond, it will not require the gain of many English seats by the Unionists to put the continuance of the policy of the Budget in a very precarious position.

Then can the Liberal leaders hold together much longer? Politicians generally manage to go on acting with their colleagues longer than impartial onlookers expect. But whatever be Sir Edward Grey's loyalty to the Liberal party, this final and abject surrender to the Irish and the extremists is making people ask more than ever whether it is credible that he should long continue to accept a nominal responsibility for a policy which is plainly leading to an indefinite postponement of that reconstitution of the Second Chamber to which he has always been committed and on the importance of which he has publicly insisted so lately as on April 11. On that day he wrote a letter to the chairman of the Berwick Liberal Association in which he stated that he intended to ask his constituents at the next election to give their attention to 'the constitution of a proper Second Chamber and a definition of its powers.' Does anybody suppose, does Sir Edward Grey himself suppose, that, whatever attention he may obtain from the electors of Berwick for this problem, he will obtain much from his party in the next or any other House of Commons? And if not, how long will his position as a Liberal leader remain a possible one?

For Unionists, at any rate, the issue is clear. The Unionist party must strain every nerve to prevent the destruction of the ancient Constitution of the country. Their candidates will have great allies. There is the historical feeling that lies deep in the mind of the average Englishman and makes him disinclined to sudden breaches with the traditional past; the just indignation which

is so widely felt at Mr Asquith's indecent treatment of the Crown; the equally widespread indignation at the ignominious surrender of the Prime Minister of England to the dictation of an Irish leader who parades his indifference to the most vital interests of Great Britain; and there is the impatience and disgust of all classes of the business community at the neglect of the most urgent financial affairs of the country in order to find time for playing with revolutionary changes which, as all men of common sense will agree, should certainly never be undertaken in a hurry. All these forces will work in favour of the Unionist party at the general election. Only once or twice in their long history have the English people been ready to tread the path of revolution, and then only when the path of reform appeared closed and inaccessible. That is not the case now. It is the essence of the Unionist policy to show the way to the reasonable reform of the Constitution and to ask the country to unite upon it. That way is open. The Lords have shown their willingness to enter upon the discussion of the reform of their House, and have accepted resolutions which lay the necessary foundation for a great change from a Chamber purely hereditary to one including many members who neither inherit their seats from their fathers nor will transmit them to their sons. The practical choice which the country will have before it at the election is that between a real but reformed Second Chamber on the one hand, and, on the other, a Second Chamber at once unreformed, impotent, and unreal. The policy of the Government is to retain whatever abuses there may be in the constitution of the Upper House in order to create prejudice against it, and prevent it from discharging any useful function. The policy of the Opposition is to remove the abuses in order that the reformed House may have the full confidence of the country and may play that secondary but important part in the working of the Constitution which all other great countries have assigned to their Second Chambers with admittedly good results. That is the issue which is to be tried. The Unionist party enter upon it with a full sense of its gravity, but also with the best hopes of a successful result. There seems no conceivable reason why anybody who voted against the Government three months ago

should vote in their favour now. But there are many and obvious reasons for the opposite change. We should be tempted to despair of the political future of England if we did not feel strong confidence that when the struggle opens there will be found among those who voted Liberal at the last election enough moderation and sanity, enough of that political good sense which has so long been the boast of Englishmen and the admiration of foreigners, to rebuke the violence and recklessness of the Liberal Cabinet, and to secure that whatever changes may be made in the laws or customs which govern the relations of the two Houses of Parliament to each other and to the Crown shall be made in the interest of the nation as a whole, not in the mere interests of a party, and, above all, in the spirit of reform, not in that of revolution.

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## END OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWELFTH VOLUME.

